A

LETTER

TO

Dr MEAD

CONCERNING

SOME

ANTIQUITIES

IN

BERKSHIRE,

Particularly ſhewing that The WHITE HORSE, which gives name to the Vale, is a Monument of the Weſt-Saxons, made in memory of a great Victory obtained over the Danes A. D. 871.

By Francis Wise B.D. Fell. of Trin. Coll. Oxon.

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SIR,

I SHALL make no Apology, for what is contained in the following ſheets, nor for the method which I have taken, of introducing them to the publick. To reſtore things loſt to their proper owners, is an act of juſtice; and the ſubject, I flatter myſelf, will be a reaſonable excuſe for the liberty, which I have taken, in addreſſing them to one, who from being the greateſt maſter, is become the greateſt patron, of ancient learning, that the preſent age can boaſt of.

The new light, which almoſt every branch of learning has received from the labours of our countrymen, to the no ſmall credit of this nation abroad, muſt be acknowledged to be chiefly owing to the encouragement, and direction, which you have been pleaſed to give to perſons of genius, and application. But the particular honour which you claim, is, That, in conformi-

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ty to your illuſtrious patterns, Varro and Atticus, after being throughly verſed in all the learning of other nations, you have not thought it beneath you, to ſearch into the antiquities of your own. Agreeing in this with Tully, [a] "That the knowledge "of ones own country, is neceſſary to compleat the character of "a ſcholar."

The ſtudy of our national antiquities has till of late wanted the encouragement, which it deſerved. We have delighted, after the example of our barbarous anceſtors, the Northern nations, in wandering about, and in ſeeking adventures in foreign lands, without attempting to cultivate, and enrich our own; which having perpetually been the ſcene of important actions in great variety from the earlieſt times, would have produced, an incredible ſtore of literature, and ſo much the more deſerving our pains, as it more nearly concerns us. Every ſcience has it's diſcouragements, and none perhaps more than that of Antiquities. The paths are frequently untrod, either leading over dry and barren deſarts, or through the perplexities of woods and coverts. Some who have no taſte for this ſort of learning, and are therefore not well affected to it, have, from the uncertainty there is in many things, concluded nothing certain; and from a few inſtances of perſons, who have been bewildered, and loſt, in this journey, would fain diſſwade all others from entring upon it.

The diſlike often expreſſed to the ſtudy of Antiquities, might however more eaſily be born, if it proceeded only from thoſe, who are at enmity with learning in general: for Ignorance is intereſted to have perpetual bickerings with ſcience. But to hear this ſort of Learning decried by gentlemen well verſed in other

[a] *Mihi quidem nulli ſatis eruditi videntur, quibus noſtra ignota ſunt.* Cicero de Fin. Lib. 1.

branches

branches of knowledge, is to *Receive wounds in the houſe of our friends.* The genius of men is by the author of nature wonderfully diverſified, and prepared for different enquiries; and though learned men take different paths, they all agree in the purſuit after truth. And if there are ſome who can ſee no beauty, but in what themſelves are in love with, yet it would be much to the credit of their good breeding, if they would treat with civility, what may appear to them leſs agreeable.

But the great deference and regard, which the moſt elegant and polite times have always paid to this ſtudy, and the high [a] encomiums, which they have been pleaſed to beſtow upon it, are a ſufficient anſwer to all cavils whatſoever. As on the contrary, it may be ſaid, that the darkeſt and moſt illiterate, confeſſedly ſo, were thoſe, which diſcarded ancient Hiſtory, and thereby loſt their beſt and ſureſt guide. So that the preſent age, notwithſtanding all it's boaſted light and knowledge, ſhould it run into a contempt of Antiquity, would want one of the moſt infallible characteriſticks of learning, and true politeneſs.

There is indeed leſs reaſon every day to fear, that the nation in general ſhould become liable to this imputation. The new edition of that immortal work *The Britannia*, ſo adorned throughout, by the labours of it's Right Reverend and very learned tranſlator, and others, ſeems to have inſpired our natives with a new deſire, of prying more cloſely into our remoteſt antiquities. This diſpoſition has been cheriſhed in them, by the countenance and example of perſons of diſtinction, and of none ſo much as

[a] *Vetera Majeſtas quædam, &, ut ſic dixerimus, Religio commendat.* Quintil. Inſtit. *Veterrima quæque, (ut ea vina, quæ vetuſtatem ferunt) eſſe debent ſuaviſſima.* Cicero de Amicitia c. 19. *Affert Vetuſtas omnibus in rebus longinqua obſervatione incredibilem ſcientiam.* Idem de Divinat. Lib. 1. 49. *Et primum quidem omni antiquitate; quæ, quo propius aberat ab ortu & divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortaſſe, quæ erant vera, cernebat.* Idem Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. 1. c. 12. *Neſcire quid, antea quam natus ſis, acciderit, id eſt ſemper eſſe puerum.* Idem de Orat.

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yourſelf. Young gentlemen have been taught, to reckon this ſtudy amongſt their chiefeſt perſonal accompliſhments. A Society of Antiquaries has been formed, whoſe united endeavours, promiſe not only, to bring to light thouſands of new particulars, relating to our Engliſh Hiſtory, but to correct the falſities of as many old ones.

The fruits of this eſtabliſhment are already viſible to every one, who is in the leaſt converſant with theſe matters. I ſhall therefore only add, that, with ſubmiſſion I think, it might ſtill be made more uſeful, if ſome of the moſt knowing members would form themſelves into ſmall parties, each party at their leiſure undertaking a diſtinct province, and in the nature of a travelling Committee, inſpecting one or more Counties; in order to give directions for ſuch enquiries, as ſhall be thought proper to be made, and to receive informations, not from the vulgar inhabitants alone, but from gentlemen of learning and curioſity, of which ſort, I preſume, every County will afford many.

From this new face of affairs have proceeded thoſe ſurprizing diſcoveries, which, without derogating from Mr Camden's merit, may be ſaid to give a new luſtre to the Hiſtory of this Iſle. Allowing him to be ſtiled the Father of Antiquaries; his book, [a] *The Common Sun at which all others have lighted their little torches*: yet it muſt be owned, that his Succeſſors have made ſo good uſe of the light, which they have borrowed from him, that they have in ſome caſes even ſeen farther than himſelf. This is apparent to any one who conſiders only the abovementioned additions to the Britannia, without any of thoſe uſeful diſcoveries made ſince by later writers.

[a] See Bp Nicolſon's Hiſtorical Library.

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British Antiquities.

It may not be foreign to my preſent purpoſe to inſtance briefly in the ſeveral periods of our more early Hiſtory and Antiquities, and to conſider, what further uſe may ſtill be made of them. If any part was obſcure, the Britiſh muſt have been remarkably ſo: the times preceding Julius Cæſar's invaſion being a dark, and impenetrable, wild, without letters, and almoſt without monuments, ſave what later antiquaries have diſcovered to belong to it. Since Cæſar's time the affairs of this Iſland are indeed ſcattered up and down in the Roman Hiſtorians, but merely with a view to illuſtrate their own actions. Mr Camden has ranged the firſt inhabitants in order by their ancient names, according to Cæſar, Tacitus, Ptolemy and others; but to ſettle their boundaries with tolerable exactneſs, ſeems a task reſerved for the preſent times. The rites and cuſtoms of the Druids have been traced out more curiouſly than heretofore. Stonehenge in Wiltſhire the moſt talked of monument of this claſs in the Iſland, is mentioned by Camden without accounting for the true meaning of it; for now, I preſume, it is univerſally allowed to be a Britiſh Temple. The more remarkable, as well as the more ancient, one at [a] Abery, or Avebury, in the ſame County, was not, if I remember right, diſcovered till after Mr Camden's death. Rollriche-ſtones by [b] Camden thought to be a Daniſh monument, is now reckoned amongſt this ſort: of all which and more, we may expect ſtill a much better account, from a very learned and celebrated [c] pen. So that upon the whole, I cannot think that any branch of our Antiquities has received greater [d] improvements than this.

a See a Deſcription of this by the Rev. Mr T. Twining. 4to. Lond. 1723. The author of which has endeavoured unſucceſsfully, to prove it a work of the Romans. *b* In Oxfordſhire. *c* Dr Stukely. See the Preface to his *Itinerarium Curioſum*. Fol. Lond. 1724. *d* See Mr Aubrey's and Mr Edw. Llhwyd's *Additions to the Britannia*, and MSS. Collections.

Roman. The Roman Remains in this Iſle, by which I underſtand, thoſe too of the Britains Latinized, vaſtly exceed the bounds of Mr Camden's deſign; and can never be ſufficiently accounted for by a ſingle perſon, even of the greateſt abilities. The Itinerary of Antoninus was his chief guide; and the uſe, he made of it, was prodigious; but this has been obſerved to be [a] *an endleſs fund of enquiry*, where any one is at liberty to form conjectures, and by virtue of which, ſeveral authors have attempted new ſchemes, and ſometimes, not without good reaſon, have ventured to differ from him. The anonymous geographer of [b] Ravenna was not diſcovered in his time, who has very much aſſiſted the learned of this age in their enquiries. The courſe of the Roman roads has been more accurately ſurveyed. Their Camps, Barrows, Amphitheatres, Walls, Stations, with towns of leſs note, will find ſufficient employment for all the antiquaries of our times, and, for ought I know, of ſeveral Centuries hereafter. [c] Mr Horſeley's book it muſt be acknowledged is a noble ſupplement to the *Britannia*; but I expect to ſee his deſign enlarged, to twice the bulk of the preſent Volume. If I may be allowed to make any judgment from what has fallen in my own way, There are remains not yet taken notice of, ſufficient to make good, even more than I aſſert. If ſuch a Committee, as I juſt now mentioned, was formed for theſe parts, I myſelf, whoſe travels have rarely exceeded the neighbourhood of Oxfordſhire, and who have as ſeldom went out of my road upon this errand, will undertake to direct them to no leſs than three Roman towns with ſufficient remains, (one

ſtions. Mr Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Reſtaurata*. 4to. Dublin. 1723. Mr Baxter's *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*. 8vo. Lond. 1719. [a] Dr Stukely *Itin. Cur.* Pag. 169. [b] *Anonymi Ravennatis Geographiæ Lib. V. cum notis Placidi Porcheron.* 8vo. Pariſ. 1688. [c] *Britannia Romana*. Fol. Lond. 1732.

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of which too may juſtly challenge the name of a city, and which I ſuſpect to be the true BRANAVIS of Ravennas) not taken notice of by Mr Camden, Dr Plot, Bp Kennet or Dr Stukely, and this in a corner of that County, which ſeems to have been travelled over by all of them.

Here I cannot but obſerve, that the ſtudy of this branch of our antiquities is not only entertaining, but vaſtly uſeful and improving; as it inſenſibly leads us to an acquaintance with the affairs and cuſtoms of the greateſt conquerors, that ever gave laws to mankind. I need not mention the pleaſure which ariſes in the breaſt of every generous antiquary, upon ſurveying the ruined manſions of this venerable people: [a] "For whether it "be a weakneſs ariſing from nature or miſtake; it is certain, "that we are often more ſenſibly affected with the ſight of the "places where they lived, than even with a relation of the great "actions performed by them." To this we may add the particular pleaſure which this period ought to afford to every Engliſh mind, in beholding our Countrymen laid under a greater tye than that of arms, namely of duty and gratitude to their conquerors. To ſee the Iſland, as it were, emerging out of barbarity, and improving in all the Roman arts of politeneſs, and civility. To view it's woody dens and caverns changed into buildings of the beſt taſte, and moſt exquiſite workmanſhip; it's wild and uncultivated deſarts, into regular paſturage, and all the beautiful ſcenes of agriculture; Manufactures of the moſt uſeful kinds every day introduced; Commerce promoted; and in ſhort the whole nation taught how to value, and improve, it's riches. This, I ſay, to a mind ſincerely affected with the love

[a] *Natura nobis hoc datum, an errore quodam, ut cum ea loca videamus, in quibus memoria dignos viros acceperimus multos eſſe verſatos, magis moveamur, quam ſi quando eorum ipſorum, aut facta audiamus, aut ſcriptum aliquod legamus.* Cicero de Fin. Lib. IV.

of ones country, is a proſpect of the higheſt delight and complacency.

Saxon and Daniſh.

Notwithſtanding the warlike genius of the Saxons; they did not want, after a time, a diſpoſition to learning, in order to preſerve the great actions of their anceſtors. And here our Hiſtory may be ſaid to begin; we having nothing that can with propriety be called ſuch, before this period. But the byaſs in them to ſuperſtition, which prevailed not only here, but over all Europe, for four or five centuries together, has in great meaſure deprived us, of the good uſe, that might otherwiſe have been made of their talents. The lives of their Saints with a long detail of their [a] miracles, which were now grown ſo common that they almoſt ceaſed to be ſuch, left no other employment for their beſt wits. This is particularly to be lamented in the caſe of Bede; His ſubject, the affairs of the Church, naturally led him to this way of writing; to proſtitute his pen to the humour of the age, by delivering down for fact, what he ſeems ſcarce to have believed himſelf. For tho' [b] he profeſſeth to write nothing, without the warrant of tradition, and common fame; yet at the ſame time he beſpeaks his reader's pardon, for what ſhould be found contrary to truth in his hiſtory. Had he attempted the civil Hiſtory of this nation, upon the plan of the Greek and Roman Hiſtorians; or had he undertaken a compleat Hiſtory of the World upon the ſame model, (for what was he not capable of undertaking?) I doubt not but his performance, would have ſucceeded, as well

a Qualis fuit iſtorum temporum Theologia, talis & Hiſtoria. Nam in Hiſtoricis monumentis, miracula ut plurimum utramque paginam conficiebant, vel à Sanctis vel ab imaginibus, vel à reliquiis edita. Caſaubon. Proleg. in Exercit. in Baron. *b Lectorem ſuppliciter obſecro, ut ſi quæ in his quæ ſcripſimus, aliter quam ſe veritas habet, poſita repererit, non hoc nobis imputet; qui (quæ vera lex Hiſtoriæ eſt,) ſimpliciter ea quæ fama vulgante collegimus, ad inſtructionem poſteritatis, literis mandare ſtuduimus.* Ep. Præf. ad Hiſt. Eccl.

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as could have been wiſhed, and have been admired with the moſt finiſhed writings of the ancients.

Beſides Bede's hiſtory, we have written [a] accounts of theſe times in their original language, and delivered too in Chronological order, which renders them highly uſeful, and makes amends, for the ſtyle and narration, which, it muſt be confeſſed, are rude, and unadorned. The learned world is infinitely obliged to the Right Reverend and learned Prelate abovementioned, who has taken the pains to make them appear in a new, and much better, dreſs, than Mr Camden could poſſibly know them in. The Cuſtoms, as well as the Monuments and Language of this period, have likewiſe received very great light from the labours of [b] Dr Hickes, who is characterized by the beſt judge of theſe matters (and who has himſelf made conſiderable improvements in them) as [c] *Incomparably the greateſt Maſter of his ſubject, that ever yet appeared in print.*

Thoſe ſwarms of Northern Pirates, that infeſted the Weſtern parts of Europe, whom Aſſer calls Pagans, later Hiſtorians by the particular name of *Danes*, began about the latter end of the Eighth, or beginning of the Ninth, century, to gain ſettlements in this Iſland. From this time their affairs are ſo intermixt with the Saxon, that they make but one hiſtory.

Here then, it muſt be owned, notwithſtanding all the diſcoveries hitherto made, is ſtill left a large field for the antiquary to expatiate in. Here we are to ſearch for the form of our Conſtitution in Church and State; the original of our Laws: the old Geography of the Iſland; with every other uſeful particular. The materials, it is true, are coarſe, but an elegant ſtructure may yet be raiſed out of them. We muſt indeed be con-

[a] *Annales Saxonici.* 4to. Oxon. 1692. [b] *Theſaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium.* Fol. 3 Vol. Oxon. 1733. [c] Bp Nicolſon in his *Hiſtorical Library.*

tent, to be ignorant, for the moſt part, of the ſecret ſprings of actions, and other beauties, which frequently embelliſh a regular Hiſtory. We muſt be content too, if we find the narration ſo confuſed, that we are now and then left to gueſs at the event of a battle; and ſometimes, though the ſtory be ever ſo circumſtantially related, if the obſolete names of places, and perſons, leave us as much to enquire, where, and by whom, it was fought. Yet in ſpight of all theſe defects, not only the learned, but every common reader, may here diſcover things enough well worth his obſervation, and which may be of ſervice to inform his mind, and improve his conduct; which ought to be the end of all ſtudy. In the hiſtories both of Saxon, and Daniſh, Kings, we meet with ſome great examples of wiſdom, fortitude, juſtice, and clemency; that at this diſtance, and through ſuch a bad medium, we may yet perceive, deſerved at leaſt, to be tranſmitted to poſterity with more advantage: and amongſt the former, One, whom I ſhall never be afraid to compare with the greateſt names of Antiquity. You will eaſily perceive I mean King Alfred.

King Alfred. A Prince deſigned, as it were, by providence for this Period, to reſcue a nation abandoned to ignorance and ſloth, and loſt to every virtue. One that wanted no qualification, that could render him beloved by his ſubjects, and dreaded by his enemies. Under a ſickly frame of body, enjoying an active, and vigorous, mind, fitted to animate every ſpring, and movement, in the machine of government. The firſt who taught us to exert the natural ſtrength of the Iſland, in large fleets of the beſt contrived veſſels: a policy which ſucceeding princes have conſtantly thought worthy of imitation and improvement. By this means guarding againſt danger from without, whilſt he had the moſt bloudy enemies, that ever invaded

vaded this land, to contend with, in the very bowels of the kingdom. His life was almoſt one continued ſtruggle for the liberties of his people, againſt the incroachments of theſe intruders. In this cauſe, we ſee him, as every opportunity offered, expoſing his perſon, with a courage not to be parallel'd, and hardly to be excuſed from the charge of raſhneſs. Frequently with a handful of troops, the diſpirited remains of a broken kingdom, attacking large armies of veterans, inured to war and ſlaughter. Under theſe diſadvantages, ſometimes indeed beaten, but oftner victorious; eſpecially when years, and experience, had taught him the right uſe of his courage. In the intervals of peace, and even in the midſt of war, aſſiduous in promoting every art, that can ſtrengthen and adorn a government. By his own example, training the ſtout and robuſt to all the hardy exerciſes of the field; the more tender and delicate conſtitutions, noble and ignoble, to the ſtudy of the Sciences, and Arts, both liberal and mechanical; thus leaving no individual uſeleſs to the State. Protecting the whole body, in a manner agreeable to the reſt of his character, by an impartial benevolence towards all his ſubjects, that brighteſt jewel of a crown! and by a ſteady adminiſtration of juſtice, providing for the ſecurity of the weakeſt, againſt the inſults of the moſt powerful. In his private life, not taxed by Hiſtorians with any vice; a tender husband, and parent; the friend, and companion, of men of letters; learned, affable, generous; and, to conclude all, eminently pious: a particular not to be omitted, though I am but too ſenſible, to how ſmall a ſhare of merit it will entitle him with the preſent age.

Had it pleaſed the great ruler of all things to ſpare his life, till he had arrived to the common age of man; he might, in all probability, have ſettled the nation in flouriſhing and laſting peace:

peace: for though he did not utterly extirpate the Danes, yet he reduced them to obedience whilſt he lived; and left them after his death, an eaſier conqueſt to his Son: the good effects of whoſe wiſdom and valour the Engliſh might long have enjoyed, had not the meaſure of their iniquities been compleat. For the unnatural diviſions, which ſoon after prevailed amongſt them, fomented by ambition, treachery, and the whole train of publick vices, which portend the downfall of a State, delivered them up at length, as a prey to their invaders.

Aſſer's Life of Alfred.

A life ſo full of great events, and ſo calculated for the benefit of mankind, as Alfred's was, providence took care ſhould not be loſt: but in a manner ſo ſingular, that nothing deſerves our admiration more. That among all the learned of his own ſubjects, no one ſhould be found willing to do him this ſervice; but that a ſtranger in a manner, taken from amongſt the King's enemies, a people of the moſt notorious hatred to the Saxon name, (for ſuch at that time were the Welch, and continue ſo to this day) that ſuch an one only ſhould undertake to give us the Portraiture of this great King, is not a little ſurprizing. He has performed it too, beyond what might have been expected from the rudeneſs of that age. For though it muſt be confeſſed, that the colouring is mean, if compared with that of politer times, yet the lines are ſtrong, and the likeneſs withal ſo well preſerved, that they convey to us an image of the moſt perfect monarch, that ever adorned the Engliſh throne.

Aſſer's Hiſtory then is the original, from whence ſucceeding hiſtorians have taken their ſeveral copies. And I am almoſt perſwaded, that, excepting in the laſt ſix or ſeven years of his life, (for Aſſer brings it no lower) whatever ſtrokes they have given him, which are not to be found in this, may be deemed extraneous and

and falſe, or at leaſt doubtful and inauthentick. For this reaſon, I cannot but diſtruſt ſome remarkable particulars of his life, though deliver'd by authors of good note and antiquity. [a] The ſtory of his hanging up Fourty four Judges in one year, does not ſeem conſiſtent with the character of his lenity, given by Aſſer: that he might diſplace ſo many, is much more probable. Aſſer mentions nothing of his getting acquainted with the poſture of the Danes, under the diſguiſe of a minſtrel, which gained him the battle of Edingdon; for which reaſon, though it be related by [b] Ingulfus, I can ſcarcely give more credit to it, than to another ſtory of him, viz. [c] His poſing the Abbot of Canterbury with Three Queſtions, ſeemingly unanſwerable.

Other Memorials of him.

At the ſame time I cannot but lament the loſs of ſome memorials, which poſſibly might have contributed towards giving us a clearer view of him. If after the examples of Alexander and Cæſar, he wrote *Commentaries of his own wars*, in the Saxon language, (as the [d] Chronicle publiſhed by Caxton ſeems to aſſert, and ſuch a ſort of book [e] John Fox the Martyrologiſt ſays he had ſeen) the loſs of them is not to be eſtimated. Doubtleſs of a Prince, ſo well beloved by his ſubjects, there were Traditions alſo remaining for ſeveral ages afterwards; eſpecially among the inhabitants of Somerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, and Hampſhire, once the relicks of

[a] This is told, with a particular mention of their crimes, by Andrew Horne in his *Mirror of Juſtices*, which book, written in French, is thought to be as old, as the time of Edward I. [b] *Ingulf. Hiſt.* p. 26. [c] He is the perſon meant by *King Olfry* in the original ballad; tho' more modern bards have transferred the Story to King John. See *A Collection of Old Ballads.* 3 Voll. 8vo. Lond. 1723. Vol. 2. pag. 50. [d] *This King Alvred was a good clerc, and let make many bokes, and a boke he made in Englyſhe of adventures of Kinges, and of batayles, that had been done in the lond.* [e] *He* [Alfred] *alſo himſelf compiled a Story in the ſame* [Saxon] *ſpeech, called* THE STORIE OF ALFRED, *which both books I have ſeen, though the language I do not underſtand.* Martyrol. Vol. 1. p. 186.

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his kingdom, the places of his reſidence, and the ſcenes of ſome of his greateſt actions. The Hiſtorian of Malmesbury ſays, [a] *in his time the people uſed to ſhew the places where he had been worſted and diſtreſſed.* And if we could recover, The Life of this King written by Thomas Dando Prior of the Carmelite Convent at Marlborough, about Three hundred years ſince, which book [b] Leland mentions, and [c] Bale ſeems to have peruſed, by quoting the beginning of it, I ſuppoſe we might find ſeveral things of this ſort, which would give further light to his Hiſtory.

The Battle of Aſhdown.

Of all his military atchievements the Battle of Aſhdown ſeems the moſt conſiderable, fought by him in the Year 871, the twenty third of his age, when he was only [d] Lievtenant under his brother King Ethelred. The account ſhews, that it was a pitched field, and a compleat victory on the ſide of the Saxons. Aſſer in relating it, aſcribes the ſucceſs to the courage and conduct of his Hero, and to the prayers of the King: who, from this Hiſtorian's account, doth not appear to have been preſent at the action. The whole army, if I underſtand him right, being led up by Alfred; tho' it had been agreed before to divide it, and each to head his particular diviſion.

"A. D. 871. Says Aſſer, the Pagans, leaving the Eaſt-Angles, "came into Weſt-Sex, and fixed their head quarters at Reading "in Berkſhire; where dividing themſelves into two parties, one "party rode out to plunder the country, the other was employ-"ed in throwing up a fortification, between the rivers Thames "and Kennet. The former was met by Ethelwolf the Earl of "Berkſhire, and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, routed near Engle-

[a] *Oſtenduntur ab incolis loca in quibus vel malæ fortunæ copiam, vel bonæ perſenſit inopiam.* Will. Malmesb. Lib. 2. [b] *Leland de ſcriptor.* pag. 448. [c] *Bale de ſcriptor.* Cent. XI. No. 53. [d] *Secundarius.* See Aſſer pag. 22.

"field.

"field. Four days after King Ethelred with his brother Alfred "reinforced the Berkſhire troops, and thinking themſelves then "ſtrong enough to ſtorm the fortreſs, made an attack, but were "repulſed with loſs, and the brave Earl was killed in the en- "gagement. Again, four days after this, the Pagans flushed "with ſucceſs, came with a numerous army to Aſhdown, under "the command of two Kings, and ſeveral Counts. King Ethel- "red and his brother [who ſeem to have retired towards the "Weſtern part of Berkſhire among their tenants and followers] "had rallied their troops, aud came with an intention to meet "them, and to make it a deciſive battle. The Pagans divided "their army into two bodies, the two kings having the com- "mand of one, the Counts of the other: which made it neceſ- "ſary for the Saxons to divide themſelves in the ſame manner. "Whilſt King Ethelred was buſied at his devotions in his tent, "and declared that he would not quit the Service of God, for "any worldly duty whatſoever, (which piety of the King's was "from the ſequel judged, not to have been without it's effect) "Alfred found it neceſſary, to begin the engagement, or to "retire. He could not eaſily brook the latter; therefore, as "had been before agreed, he led on the Chriſtian forces, though "the King was not come up. Aſſer is very particular in men- "tioning, how the Pagans had got the higher ground, and how "the battle was begun upon a ſpot, where grew a ſingle Thorn- "tree, which he himſelf had afterwards ſeen; the whole account "having been given him by faithful eyewitneſſes. After a bloudy "and obſtinate diſpute, one King and five Counts were killed "on the Pagan ſide, with many thouſands of common men, "and the reſt were diſperſed all over the wide plain of Aſhdown, "and purſued all that night, and the next day, as far as to their "caſtle at Reading."

I have been very particular in relating this battle from Aſſer, not only to ſhew, that it was a compleat victory, but that the honour of the day is to be aſcribed to Alfred. Becauſe [a] William of Malmesbury and the chronicle, that goes under the name of [b] Abbot Bromton, give ſomewhat a different account of the matter: viz. "That Alfred engaged too haſtily with the "troops under his command, and was near upon retreating, when "the King coming up with his freſh forces, ſupported him ſo "well, that together they ſoon put the Pagans to flight." But even this account of the affair, ſuppoſing it to be true, will almoſt perſwade us, that the victory was owing to Alfred's bravery, in attacking them with half an army, that was probably not very numerous, and to the impreſſion that ſuch a charge muſt neceſſarily make upon the enemy. Though after all, it ſeems to me, that theſe Hiſtorians, the oldeſt of which lived between two and three hundred years after the thing happened, took their accounts only from Aſſer, and were either willing to make ſomething out of his words, which the author never meant; or were unwilling, that the pious King ſhould loſe his ſhare of the glory: for, as I obſerved before, it does not appear from Aſſer, that the King was at all concerned in the action, more than by his prayers. And Aſſer who gives you impartially Alfred's ill conduct, as well as his good, I think, would not have omitted it here, or have left the King ſo much out of the queſtion, had he not been aſſured of the truth of his relation.

[a] *Quæ fides regis multum adjuvit fratrem immaturitate juventæ præproperum, & jam progreſſum. Namque jam acies Anglorum declinabant, & urgentibus ex alto adverſariis fugam meditabantur, quod iniquo Chriſtianis loco pugnaretur: cum ille cruce Dei conſignatus ex inſperato advolat, hoſtem proturbans, civem in arma ciens, cujus virtute ſimul & Dei miraculo Dani territi pedibus, ſalutem committentes, fugere.* Will. Malmesb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. Lib. 2. p. 42. [b] *Dani cum tanto impetu eum invaſerunt, quod fere cum ignominia in fugam eſt converſus.* Bromton, Chron. pag. 807.

But

Aſhdown where.

But here we are much at a loſs: for tho' this event be mentioned, with all it's particular circumſtances; I think it has not yet been made clear, whereabouts the battle was fought. And though to ſome people this may ſeem a trifle, yet I hope to ſhew, before I have done, that a good deal depends upon it. Aſſer ſays it was at a place called Æſcesdune or Æscendune, which he interprets too *Mons Fraxini*, in Engliſh *Aſheſdown*, or *Aſhendown*. [a] Some make it *Aſhdown foreſt* in Suſſex: the learned Biſhop [b] Kennet is inclined to place it at *Aſhendon* in Buckinghamſhire in the foreſt of Bernwood, a town that gives name to the Hundred; Biſhop [c] Gibſon with more reaſon at a town called *Aſton* near Wallingford in Berkſhire, about fifteen miles from Reading. His Lordſhip was led into this opinion by a paſſage in the Saxon Annals, which is to this purpoſe. "A. D. 1006. They [the Danes] went to Walling-"ford, and there ſtaid ſometime, thence they paſſed along *Aſh-*"*down*, and went to Cwichelme's-low." If *Cwichelmes-low* here mean *Cuckhamſley-hill*, *Aſton* might very well be the place, it lying directly in the road between Wallingford and that Hill. But I am perſwaded that *Cwichelmes-low*, muſt be ſought for elſewhere, at ſome greater diſtance from Wallingford; becauſe I ſhall ſoon ſhew, that *Aſhdown*, through which they paſſed, lies in the line beyond *Cuckhamſley-hill*. I know of no higher authority than [d] Saxton's maps, for calling this *Cuckhamſley-hill*, having not been ſo fortunate, as to obtain the ſight of any old deeds and papers, relating to this part of the country. It is called by the neighbouring people *Cuchinſlow*, and *Scuchamere*; it is a large Barrow, on the brow of a high hill, viſible for ſeveral miles;

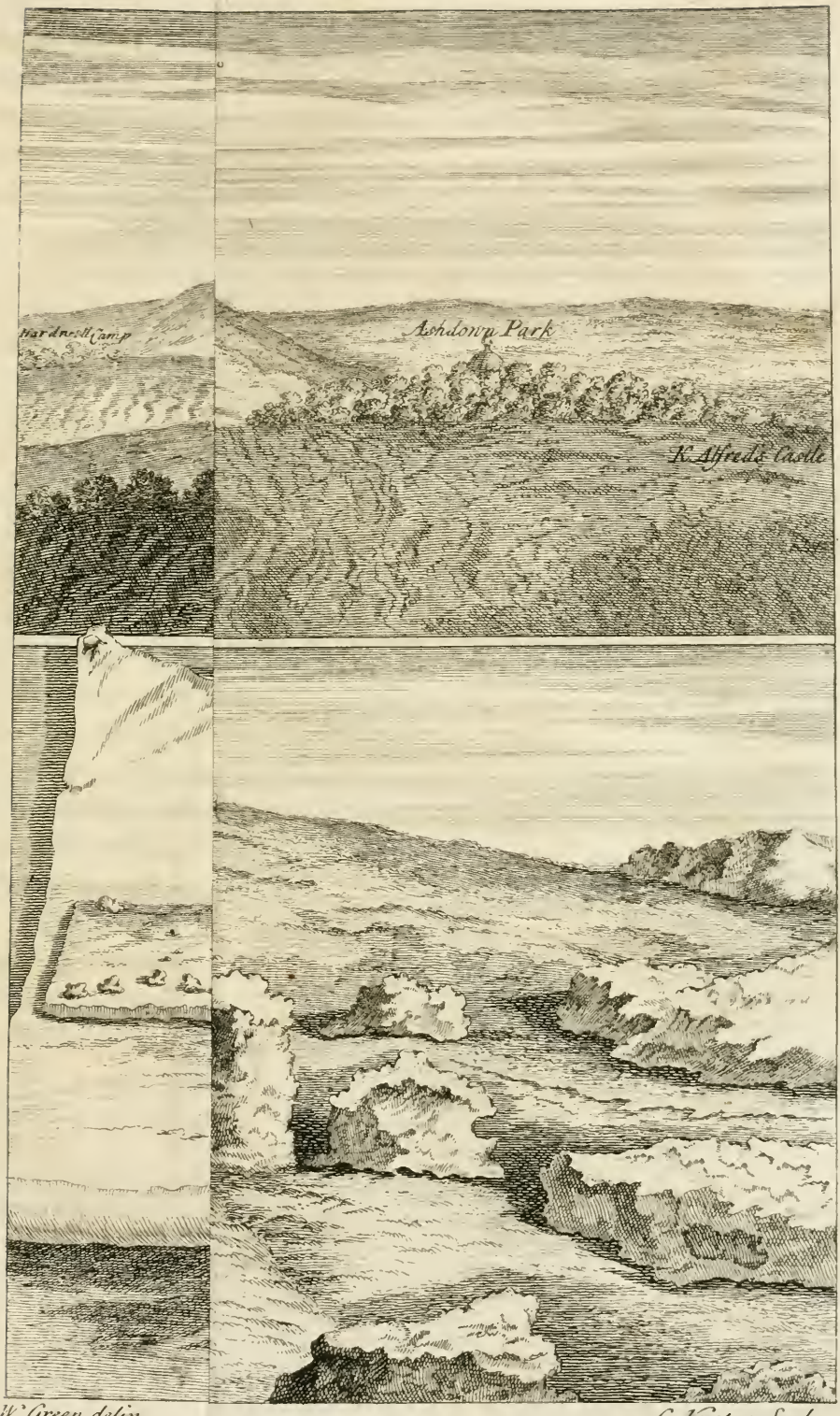
[a] Æſceſdune. *Talbot writ heere Aſchdune foreſt in Southſax.* Leland Collect. Vol. 3. p. 194. [b] *Parochial Antiquities of Burceſter*, &c. pag. 35. [c] See the Index of places names at the end of the Saxon Annals. [d] Printed in the year 1579.

where, till lately, ſtood a Poſt for a Beacon, for which reaſon it is more known to travellers by the name of *Beacon-hill*. Poſſibly it might be raiſed by King Cwichelm, who was in poſſeſſion of theſe parts, and died about the year 636; or it may be the *Low* or *Hill*, under which he lies buried. But yet I cannot believe it to be a thing of ſuch note, as that the march of an army ſhould be deſcribed, as directed to it. As for *Aſton*, there are no remains near it, that I can learn, which might perſwade us, that a battle was fought thereabouts: nor doth the name itſelf favour the opinion of it's being *Aſhdown*. For in the oldeſt records, ſuch as Domeſday book, and Pope Nicholas's Valor, it is wrote *Eſtone*, and means no more than the *Eaſt town*, with reſpect to ſome other, nigh which it is ſituated: and this undoubtedly is Blubery, a much older town. I therefore rather ſuppoſe *Cwichelms-low*, to mean ſome town in North Wiltſhire, or Glouceſterſhire; though I am not able at preſent to gueſs, where to fix it.

ASHDOWN was a place of conſiderable note in the Saxon times, as appears from it's being mentioned ſo often in the Annals. It ſeems to be a diſtrict or country rather than a Town, and it being called *Mons Fraxini* by Aſſer, as well as it's being the place of battel, ſeem to perſwade the ſame. I take it to mean that ridge of hills from Letcombe, and thereabouts, going on to Wiltſhire, and overlooking the Vale with the towns in it; containing large tracts of Down, and Sheep-paſture; where the great Weſtern road paſſes at this day, being called the *Rudge* or *Ridge-way*. I preſume it was likewiſe a well-known boundary: ſo that when it is ſaid, in the [a] Annals, *Wulfere the Son of Penda laid waſte all the country as far as Æſceſdune*, I ſup-

[a] *Annales Saxonici* A. D. 661.

poſe



W.m Green delin.

G. Vertue Sculp.

Sumptibus RICHARDI MEAD Archiatri.

poſe is meant, that he deſtroyed all the Vale, from Mercia, to the foot of this ridge of hills. Theſe Downs ſeem likewiſe to have been formerly adorned with Woods of Aſh, from whence they received the denomination of Aſhdown. Near Letcombe is a ſhrubby place ſtill called *The Aſhes*, and *Letcombe Aſhes*, where, as I have been informed by a curious and learned [a] gentleman of this neighbourhood, grew, within the memory of ſeveral perſons lately dead, abundance of tall, and very fair Aſhes; Theſe probably were the laſt of this ſort deſtroyed hereabouts; and ſo far Eaſtward, I am inclined to think, that Aſhdown extended, if not further, to a place called *Aſhen-Pen*, ſtill more Eaſtward. On the Weſtern ſide it's bounds will diſcover themſelves with more certainty. I have not leiſure, nor will it be of any great uſe to the publick, to ſettle the limits of it with exactneſs, which yet I am perſwaded may be done: I ſhall however obſerve further, that it ſeems to have been the demeſne lands of the Weſt-Saxons Kings, as I find by their granting it away to their favourites. In a [b] charter of Ethelwolf Alfred's father, bearing date A. D. 840. he gives to Dundan, *Decem Caſſatos in loco qui dicitur Ayſſhedoune*. At length a town came to be built on the Weſtern limits of it, which is now called *Aſhbury*, but was formerly called *Ayſſhedoune*; as you may ſee in the [c] Charter of King Edred dated A. D. 947. *Viginti manſas ei* [Edrigo] *libenter largiendo, concedens perdonabo; illic ubi vulgus priſca relatione vocitat* at Ayſſhedoune. And to the ſame charter is annexed a memorandum *Memoratum Manerium, quod nunc vocatur* AYSSHEBURY. Aſhbury therefore, according to this Charter, is only a more modern name, ſignifying the ſame thing, viz. *Aſh-Hill*, or *Down*, from the Saxon Beopʒ. *Collis*. But even

[a] John Blandy Eſquire of Purley. [b] See the *Leiger book of Glaſtonbury Abbey*: a MS. in the Bodleian Library. Fol. 245. a. [c] *Monaſticon Anglicanum*. Vol. 2. p. 842.

the

the old name is ſtill preſerved hereabouts, the Downs being called by the Shepheards, *Aſhdown*, and about a mile Southward from *Aſhbury* is [a] *Aſhdown-Park*, correptly called *Aſhen-Park*, the Seat of the Lord Craven.

Here then I was perſwaded to look for the field of battle; and was agreeably ſurprized to find my expectation anſwered in every reſpect. Here my imagination painted the two armies extended *over the wide plain*, and *engaged about the ſingle Thorn-tree*, there being here and there to be ſeen one of this kind. Upon the higheſt hill of theſe parts North Eaſtward is a large Roman entrenchment, called *Uffington-Caſtle*, from overlooking the town of Uffington, in the Vale; where I ſuppoſe the Danes lay encamped: for as their marches were generally haſty, and more like that of plunderers, than of a regular army, they had not time to throw up fortifications, nor indeed was there occaſion, where they found enough of them ready made to their hands. This place I chooſe for the Danes, becauſe Aſſer ſays, they had got the upper ground. About half a mile lower weſtward on the brow of the hill, nearer to Aſhbury, overlooking a farm-houſe called *Hardwell*, is a Camp, fortified ſeemingly after the Saxon manner, with two ditches, but not near ſo ſtrong as the former, which has only one: this is called *Hardwell Camp*, and here I ſuppoſe King Ethelred lay, the night before the engagement. About a mile or more from hence, behind the Wood of Aſhdown-park, is a ſlight roundiſh entrenchment, which ſeems to be thrown up in haſte, and which, as I have been informed, is called both *Aſhbury camp*, and *King Alfred's Caſtle*. Mr Aubrey's account of this, (for he did not know

[a] By Inquiſition dated 10 April, 18 Elizabeth, 1576, at Lamborne, it is found, called *Aſhdowne Park, alias Aſhen Park*. Chart. penes Hon. D. Craven.

of

of *Hardwell Camp*) is, [a] "From hence we come to White-horſe "Hill, the head of the River Ock; above which by Aſhbury-"Park is a camp of a figure, as near round as ſquare, the dia-"meter above an hundred paces, and the works ſingle, which "ſeems to prove it Daniſh. But the works are now almoſt quite "ſpoiled and defaced, by digging for the Sarſden-ſtones as they "call them, to build my Lord Craven's houſe in the Park." Beſides theſe camps, we may add the Barrows, ſcatter'd over the Downs in great plenty, ſufficient to convince any man, that this part of the country muſt have been formerly the ſcene of war and bloudſhed.

The White-Horſe.

Such a ſignal victory, as the Saxons obtained at this place, deſerved not to paſs without ſome token, and memorial of it. And ſuch I take to be, the WHITE-HORSE deſcribed on the Hill, almoſt under Uffington Caſtle. A thing of ſuch note amongſt our anceſtors, that it has given it's name to one of the largeſt and fruitfuleſt Vales in England.

That the moſt ancient people, before the invention of books, and before the uſe of ſculpture upon ſtones, and other ſmaller fragments were wont to repreſent things great and noble, upon entire rocks and mountains ſeems ſo natural, that it is eaſily imagined, and aſſented to by all. And that the cuſtom was not laid aſide for many ages after, is plain from Hiſtory. Semiramis to perpetuate her memory, is reported to have cut a whole rock into the form of herſelf. Hannibal, long after the invention of books, engraved characters upon the Alpine rocks, as a teſtimony of his paſſage over them; which were remaining about two centuries ago, if we may believe

[a] *Additions to the Britannia, in Berkſhire*, pag. 150. New Edit.

[a] Paulus

[a] Paulus Jovius. But, what is moſt to our purpoſe, it appears to have been particularly the cuſtom of the Northern nations, from that remarkable inſcription, mentioned by [b] Saxo, and ſeveral ages after him delineated, and publiſhed by [c] Olaus Wormius. This was inſcribed by Harold Hyldetand to the memory of his father; it was cut on the ſide of a rock in Runic characters, each letter of the inſcription being a quarter of an Ell long, and the length of the whole thirty four Ells.

After this manner our Horſe is formed, on the ſide of an high and ſteep hill, facing the North weſt. His dimenſions are extended over an acre of ground, or thereabouts: his Head, Neck, Body, and Tail, conſiſt of one white line; as does alſo each of his Four Legs. This is done by cutting a trench into the chalk, of about two or three feet deep, and about ten feet broad. The Chalk of the trench being of a brighter colour, than the turf which ſurrounds it, the rays of the afternoon's Sun darting upon it make the whole figure viſible for ten or a dozen, nay fifteen miles, if I am rightly informed.

The Horſe at firſt view is enough to raiſe the admiration of

[a] *Hannibal literas trajectionis ſuæ teſtes Alpinis rupibus inſcripſit, quæ apud Barrum hodie extant.* P. Jovius Hiſt. Lib. XV. p. 163. [b] *Apud Blekingiam apta meantibus Rupes mirandis literarum notis interſtincta conſpicitur ſiquidem à meridiano mari in deſerta Verundiæ, petroſa porrigitur ſemita, quam binæ lineæ exiguo diſcretæ ſpatio, protractis in longum ductibus amplectuntur. Inter quas medium loco planum factis ad legendum figuris undique ſecus exaratum oſtenditur. Quod licet adeo ſitu inæquale exiſtat, ut modo montium alta proſcindat, modo vallium ima prætereat, eodem tamen tenore literarum veſtigia ſervare dignoſcitur: quarum ſignificationem Rex Woldemarus ſacri Canuti fauſta proles admirationis cauſa cognoſcere cupiens, miſit qui Rupem permeantes, patentium illic Characterum ſeriem curioſiori indagatione colligerent, ac poſtmodum virgulis quibuſdam ſub iiſdem formarum apicibus adnotarent. Qui ideo nihil ex iis interpretamenti comprehendere potuerunt; quod ipſa cælaturæ concavitas partim cœno interlita, partim commeantium adeſa veſtigiis figuratæ protractionis ſpeciem obtrito calle confuderat.* Saxon. Gram. Præf. ad Hiſt. Dan. That this monument was engraved in the rock by order of Harold Hyldetand appears from a paſſage in the ſame Saxo's Hiſtory. *Is enim* [Haraldus Hyldetand] *in monumentum patris, ejus res geſtas apud Blekingiam Rupi, per artifices mandare curæ habuit.* Hiſt. Lib. VII. [c] Olaus Wormius. Monum. Danica. Lib. III.

every

W. Greene delin.

G. Vertue Sculp.

Vitali donavit

RAVEN.

Vetustatis Saxonicæ decus singulare Ære immortali donavit

Honoratiss. Dns. Gulielmus Baro de Craven.

every curious ſpectator, being deſigned in ſo maſterlike a manner, that it may defy the painter's skill, to give a more exact deſcription of that animal: which were it not ſo apparent, would hardly gain belief with an antiquary, who conſiders to how low an ebb the art of drawing was ſunk at that time; as appears from the works of their beſt maſters, the Saxon coins, and the jewel of King Alfred, deſcribed by Dr Hickes and others, and now preſerved in the Muſeum at Oxford. If we conſider it further, we muſt likewiſe allow, that no ſmall skill in Opticks was requiſite, both for the choice of the ground, and for diſpoſing rude lines, as they appear to a perſon upon the ſpot, in ſuch a manner, as to form ſo beautiful a repreſentation. And again, if durability was intended, the ingenuity of the artiſt will appear ſtill greater. For from it's barren ſoil, and ſteep ſituation, it has nothing to fear from the inroads of the plough, the grazing of larger cattle, or the ſtagnation of waters; all which contribute more or leſs to efface things of this ſort. When I ſaw it, the Head had ſuffered a little, and wanted reparation: and the extremities of his hinder legs from their unavoidable ſituation, have by the fall of rains been filled up in ſome meaſure with the waſhings from the upper parts; ſo that in the neareſt view of him, the Tail, which does not ſuffer the ſame inconvenience, and has continued entire from the beginning, ſeems longer than his legs. The ſupplies which nature is continually affording, occaſion the turf on the upper verge of his body, for want of continuity, to crumble, and fall off into the white trench, which in many years time produces ſmall ſpecks of turf, and not a little obſcures the brightneſs of the Horſe. Though there is no danger from hence of the whole figure being obliterated; yet the neighbouring inhabitants have a cuſtom of *Scouring the Horſe*, as they call it; at which time a ſolemn feſti-

val is celebrated, and manlike games with prizes exhibited, which no doubt had their original in the Saxon times, in memory of the victory. This falling of the turf into the trench is the reaſon likewiſe, why the country people erroneouſly imagine, that the Horſe, ſince his firſt fabrication, has ſhifted his quarters, and is got higher upon the Hill, than formerly. His preſent owner is the Right Honble William Lord Craven, who was pleaſed to encourage theſe enquiries, by a free ſearch into the writings relating to this part of his eſtate, and to oblige the publick, with an Engraving of this venerable remain, as it appears at about four or five miles diſtance, in the road between Highworth and Faringdon; which, the reader muſt take notice, is the beſt view of it.

If ever the genius of K. Alfred exerted itſelf, (and it never failed him in his greateſt exigencies) it did remarkably ſo, upon the account of this trophy. The ſituation of his affairs would not permit him to ſpend much time, nor his cirumſtances much coſt, in effecting one. His troops, though victorious, were harraſſed, and diminiſhed by continual duty; nor did the country afford, to any man's thinking, materials proper for a work of this kind. Though he had not therefore the opportunity of raiſing, like other conquerours, a ſtupendous monument of Braſs, or Marble, yet he has ſhewn an admirable contrivance, in erecting One, magnificent enough, tho' ſimple in it's deſign, executed too with little labour and no expence, that may hereafter vye with the Pyramids for duration, and perhaps exiſt, when thoſe ſhall be no more.

A Horſe the Saxon Standard.

No one can be ignorant, that the Horſe was the Standard which the Saxons uſed, both before and after their coming hither. This is ſo well known and allowed, that the very names of the two firſt

Saxon

Saxon Leaders, are ſuppoſed by [a] Bp Nicolſon, not to be proper, but typical or emblematical only: and that as the Emperor of Germany is ſometimes ſtiled *The Eagle*, and the King of France *The Lilly*, from the Arms they bear; ſo theſe were ſtiled *Horſes*, from their Banner. For HENGST in Saxon ſignifies, no more than a *Stonehorſe*, and HORSA need not be explained to an Engliſh reader.

Alfred therefore in [b] *Setting up his Banner for a Token*, did nothing, but what was exactly agreeable to ancient practice. And might probably in ſo doing, have a further regard to Antiquity; a *White-Horſe* itſelf being no improper emblem of victory and [c] triumph; according to the [d] Poet

Ergo erit illa dies, qua tu, pulcherrime rerum,
Quatuor in NIVEIS Aureus ibis EQUIS.

I muſt not omit the poſture in which the Horſe is delineated, which is not Rampant or Prancing, as repreſented in [e] Speed, [f] Sammes, and the Arms of Savoy, whoſe Princes are deſcended from thoſe of Saxony; but Current or [g] Galloping, as deſcribed in the Arms of the houſe of Brunſwick at this day. If any diſputes ſhould ariſe among Heralds about theſe different bearings of the Horſe; as likewiſe, whether he ought to be Current from the Dexter part, or Siniſter, which I believe is a point not entirely ſettled: I think, till ſome other more ancient record ſhall be produced, they may be fairly determined

a Engliſh Atlas. Vol. 2. Tom. 1. p. 52. *b* Pſalm 74. v. 5. *c Decrevit Senatus, ut in Triumpho jam ante conceſſo, EQUIS ALBIS uteretur.* Dio. de Julio. Hiſt. Rom. Lib. 43. *d* Ovid. de Art. Am. Lib. 1. *e Hiſtory of Great Britain.* Fol. Lond. 1611. Pag. 293. *f Britannia Antiqua Illuſtrata.* Fol. Lond. 1676. Pag. 471. *g* It muſt be confeſſed that in ſome views of the Horſe, his fore part appears more elevated than in others (as I obſerved it from the *Saracen's-Head* Inn in Highworth) but even in this view, he appears galloping, which is the moſt natural attitude, and was undoubtedly intended by the artiſt.

from this authentick one, of Eight hundred and ſixty ſeven years ſtanding.

The Reaſon of bearing it.

I ſhall take this opportunity of encountring an old, but ill grounded, opinion, delivered down by Krantzius, if not invented by him, and maintained without contradiction by later writers. [a] A. D. 785. *Witichind*, ſays he, *upon his converſion from the darkneſs of Paganiſm, was the firſt who took THE WHITE COLT for his device, in alluſion to the brightneſs of Chriſtianity; having till that time uſed a Black One. And theſe are the moſt ancient Arms of Saxony.* This account, I muſt beg leave to ſay, ſavours too much of Legend and Allegory, to deſerve credit. Beſides, the veneration for *White Horſes* amongſt the Germans, ſeems to have had a much higher original; even amongſt the oldeſt Pagan idolaters: [b] Tacitus telling us, *That it was the cuſtom of this people, to take carefully the preſages of certain WHITE HORSES, kept for that purpoſe in their ſacred Groves free from any ſort of labour, except when harneſſed to the ſacred Chariot: at which time it was uſual for the Prieſt, and King, or chief man of the City, to accompany it, and to obſerve their neighings: And this with them is eſteem'd the moſt credible kind of augury: for they imagine that theſe Horſes know themſelves to be the ſervants of the Gods.* This, it is likely, was an ancient ſuperſtition derived from the Eaſtern Aſiaticks; and perhaps may afford one more argument for the Germans being a

[a] *Armorum inſignia, quæ militaribus, ut fit, ſignis præferebat, PULLUM EQUINUM habebat ATRUM: ſed placuit regi* [Wedekindo] *poſtquam de tenebris gentilium errorum pervenit in lucem veritatis, ut CANDIDVM acciperet: ea vero vetuſtiſſima Saxoniæ Arma.* Alb. Krantzius Saxonia Lib. II. c. 24. [b] *Proprium gentis EQUORUM quoque præſagia ac monitus experiri; publice aluntur iiſdem nemoribus ac lucis, CANDIDI ac nullo mortali opere contacti, quos preſſos ſacro Curru, Sacerdos, ac Rex, vel Princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitus atque fremitus obſervant, nec ulli auſpicio major fides, non ſolum apud plebem, ſed apud proceres, apud ſacerdotes. Se enim miniſtros deorum illos conſcios putant.* De Moribus German.

Colony

Colony of the Perſians; for we read that Cyrus had in his army, when he marched towards Babylon, [a] *Certain WHITE HORSES, which the Perſians accounted ſacred.* This cuſtom continued with the Germans long after the times of Tacitus, and of Witichind too. For the inhabitants of the Iſle of Rugen, who ſpeak the dialect of lower Saxony, and who were lateſt converted to Chriſtianity, had a [b] White Horſe attending upon their idol [c] *Zantwit* or *Swant*, which was under the management of the Prieſt, and from whence they likewiſe took preſages, agreeably to the above mentioned account of Tacitus. The reaſon for depicting the White Horſe in their banners was idolatrous likewiſe, and owing at firſt to the great confidence which they put in theſe Preſages, and ſo was continued perhaps with other Pagan cuſtoms, without enquiring into the reaſon of it, after the times of Chriſtianity. In like manner the Pagan Danes had their preſaging *Raven* born in their banner, which was taken from them at the [d] battle of Kenwith in Devonſhire A. D. 878. The Chriſtians on the other hand, who put their whole truſt in the Croſs, and Image of their Saviour, bore Thoſe likewiſe as their Banners: witneſs [e] Auguſtine's proceſſion, when he went to meet King Ethelbert.

a Herodotus. Lib. I. *b EQUUM præterea CANDORE NIVEUM alunt, ſolius ſacerdotis miniſterio attrectandum, quippe eo Zantewitum, (hoc enim ſimulacro nomen, ut diximus, indidere) ſolere hoſtes ſuos inſequi putant. Perfidiam fovet, quod eum mane ſudantem conſpiciunt, quaſi magnum noctu confecerit iter. Hunc illis Equum auſpicari faciunt bellum quod imminet, nam ſi dextero pede locum ſignatum tetigerit, fauſtum, ſi ſiniſtro infauſtum, ominantur.* Albert. Krantzius. Wandaliæ Lib. V. c. 12. p. 110. *c Zantwit* is no other than St *Vitus*, the Monk, who firſt preached the Goſpel to thoſe barbarous people, and was afterwards by them idolized under a monſtrous form. The image was broken to pieces by Waldemar King of Denmark, upon taking the Caſtle *Arcon* A. D. 1168. See Saxo Grammaticus Hiſt. Danic. Lib. XIV. See likewiſe Biſhop Nicolſon Engl. Atlas in Rugen. Vol. 2. p. 82. *d* See Aſſer p. 33. *e Crucem pro Vexillo ferentes & imaginem Domini Salvatoris in Tabula depictam.* Beda Eccl. Hiſt. Lib. I. c. 25.

All

The White-Horſe ſcarce taken notice of by Others.

All true lovers of Antiquity, and that have a veneration for the memory of that excellent Prince, we have been ſpeaking of, cannot but regret with me the hard fate, that this noble Monument has met with. Paſt over in ſilence by ancient hiſtorians, and hardly ſo much as reckoned by travellers amongſt the curioſities of the country! Add to this, that though there is not a man who is not clear in the point of it's vaſt antiquity, yet all traces of it's deſign are entirely worn out among the neighbouring inhabitants!

Leland's journey does not ſeem to have carried him this way, nor does Camden here go out of the other's track; though he mention's upon another occaſion, and by the by, *The Whitehorſe*; but in ſuch a manner, that I could wiſh for his own ſake, he had paſſed it over in ſilence with the reſt. For his account is altogether unbecoming ſo faithful, and accurate an author: inſinuating to his readers, that it has no exiſtence, but in the imaginations of the country people. *The Thames*, ſays he, *falls into a valley, which they call* The Vale of Whitehorſe, *from I know not what ſhape of a Horſe fancied on the ſide of a Whitiſh Hill.* Much nearer to the truth is Mr Aubrey, however wide of the mark, who in the additions to the Britannia ſays: *I leave others to determine, whether* THE WHITE HORSE *on the Hill, was made by Hengiſt, ſince the Horſe was the Arms or figure in Hengiſt's Standard.* The author of a [a] *Tour through England*, is a little more particular, though he leaves us as much in the dark about the antiquity and deſign of it. *Between this Town of Marlborow, and Abingdon, is the Vale of White-Horſe. The inhabitants tell a great many fabulous ſtories of the original of it's name; but there is nothing*

[a] Three Volumes. 8vo. Lond. 1738. Vol. 2. p. 42.

of

of foundation in them, that I could find. The whole of the ſtory is this: Looking South from the Vale, we ſee a trench cut on the ſide of a high green hill, in the ſhape of a Horſe, and not ill ſhaped neither, the trench is about a yard deep, and filled almoſt up with chalk, ſo that at a diſtance you ſee the exact ſhape of a White Horſe, but ſo large, as to take up near an acre of ground, ſome ſay almoſt two acres. From this figure the Hill is called in our maps, White-Horſe Hill, and the low, or flat, country under it, The Vale of White Horſe.

The Feſtival of Scouring the Horſe.

Thus far theſe writers; who are all that I can at preſent recollect, that have mentioned any thing material concerning the Horſe: which they ſeem indeed to have done with the curioſity, but at the ſame time with the haſte of travellers: caſting a tranſient eye upon it, without giving themſelves leiſure to enquire into its meaning. Had Mr Camden thought it worth his while to ſearch narrowly into it's antiquity, and conſidered it's ſituation, with regard to the neighbouring country, I am perſwaded that he would have ſaved me the labour. Had he in particular attended to, what every inhabitant hereabout was ready to inform him of, The ceremony of *Scouring the Horſe*, which from time immemorial has been ſolemnized by a numerous concourſe of people from all the villages round about, he muſt have been convinced, that it was formed with a view to ſome publick action. That the meaning of this cuſtom has been ſo long forgot, is not at all to be wondered at, conſidering the convulſions, and changes, which the ſtate of our nation has formerly undergone, the ignorance that enſued, and the perſons to whoſe care it has been chiefly left to keep it up. The ſame thing may be obſerved of other cuſtoms with great ſtrictneſs maintained by the vulgar, though they are unable to give any tolerable account of their origin; particularly that of *Wakes*, or Feaſts of

The

The Dedication of Churches; whoſe true deſign is for the moſt part a ſecret to the perſons concerned, but is diſcovered by the diligence of antiquaries. And that our Feſtival is of a more general nature than that of Wakes, which are confined to ſingle pariſhes reſpectively, ſeems plain; becauſe, as I am informed, though the Horſe ſtands in the pariſh of Uffington, yet other towns claim, by ancient cuſtom, a ſhare of the duty upon this occaſion. Since therefore this noble antiquity is now explained, and conſequently the reaſon of the Feſtival, it were to be wiſhed, that, in order to prevent for the future it's falling into oblivion, ſome care was taken of the regulation of the Games, and that they were reſtored to their ancient ſplendour, of which, without queſtion, they are fallen much ſhort.

I know that theſe rites are cavilled at, and maligned, by the more ſupercilious part of mankind: but the diſlike to them ſeems to be founded meerly upon the abuſe of them to riot, and debauchery, which I intend by no means to juſtify, or excuſe. The practice of the beſt and wiſeſt States, whoſe maxims we approve, and profeſs to follow, is ſufficient authority for their uſe. The Liberty we ſo juſtly boaſt, and which ought to be a common bleſſing to all, pleads loudly for them. The common people, from their daily labour, ſtand at leaſt in as much need of proper intervals of recreation, as their ſuperiours, who are exempt from it: and therefore in all free States have been indulged in Sports moſt ſuited to their genius, and capacity. And if manlike Games contribute any thing towards the ſupport of the natural bravery of Theſe, who are to be our bulwark and defence, in times of danger, they cannot be more ſeaſonably revived, than at this juncture; when through the general luxury, and diſſoluteneſs of the age, there was never more likelyhood of it's being extinguiſhed. Beſides all this, from

from hence a ſuperiour influence diffuſeth itſelf through the better ſort, who are ſuppoſed to enter further into the intention of theſe ſolemnities; for which reaſon it is, that to perpetuate to poſterity the remembrance of great men, and of great actions, has been always recommended, as a proper incentive to virtue. Cuſtoms of very trifling import, ſome ridiculous in themſelves, others owing to cauſes equally ridiculous, are oftentimes kept up by Engliſhmen with much zeal, and tenacity: and ſhall the greateſt Prince, that this Iſle was ever bleſt with, and the greateſt action of that Prince's life, be in danger of being forgot, through the neglect of a ſolemnity, the only one perhaps that was ever inſtituted, at leaſt, that is now preſerved, to his honour?

The Magiſtrates of Greece or Rome would have thought it a point of the utmoſt concern, to preſerve to the very lateſt times the memorial of ſo remarkable an event; and to revive it, if through any accidents of State, it ſhould have grown into diſuſe. But if it may be thought, not to be of ſo great moment, as to deſerve the care of our Legiſlature; yet, if I may preſume to ſay it, it will become the generous mind of the Noble Lord, who by inheriting the manour of Aſhdown, as well as by his amiable qualities, may be ſaid to ſtand in the place of King Alfred, to ſet apart a ſufficient fund, for the perpetual diſcharge of this tribute to his memory.

If the time of ſolemnizing this Feſtival, which has been often left to the diſcretion of the inhabitants, was fixed to ſome certain period, ſuppoſe a revolution of Four Years, as perhaps was at firſt intended: I muſt appeal to all perſons, who have a regard for ancient cuſtoms to which a laudable meaning is annexed, whether ſuch a ſolemnity would not deſerve the countenance and preſence of the Nobility and Gentry; which would

have a good influence upon the aſſembly, add decency to the meeting, and reſtrain the exceſſes of the populace.

Another uſe would be made of it by the common people, in their reckoning of time; which, I ſuppoſe, is now by their different Seed-times and Fallow, but then would more properly be done by the Second, Third, or Fourth, Year of the Scouring of the Horſe. Nor ſhould I deſpair of it's having ſtill a more general effect, by creating a new Æra in our Engliſh Hiſtory, viz. THE RESTORATION OF THE SAXON OLYMPICKS.

The King Slain at Aſhdown.

The perſon of greateſt note ſlain at the battle of Aſhdown was one of the Pagan Kings, by which is meant, I ſuppoſe, one of the bloud royal, and probably of the houſe of Denmark; it being no unuſual thing with ſuch, in that fighting age, to attend upon, and give countenance to, theſe piratical expeditions. And here we are again at a loſs for this King's true name. The Daniſh Hiſtory mention's one of this ſort of Kings ſlain in England about this time, who is called [a] *Ivarus*; a name widely differing from that given him by our own Hiſtorians; ſcarce any two of which agree in it, tho' all relating the ſame fact. Ranulf Higden calls him *Oſric*, Simeon of Durham *Oſeg*, Ethelwerd *Berſe*, Hen. Huntingdon *Baſreg*, Ingulfus *Baſeg*, Roger Hoveden *Baiſeg*, The Saxon Annals Bachꝛeg, but Aſſer Bæꝛceg, which in modern pronunciation may be *Beskey*, or *Baskey*, in Latin BASCAIUS, as in Florence of Worceſter, and Matthew of Weſtminſter. I ſhall leave the name to ſhift for itſelf; and proceed to the place of his burial, which, I think, I have diſcovered upon the field of battle, diſtinguiſhed by a parcel of ſtones ſet on edge, and en-

[a] See Pontanus. Hiſt. Rer. Dan. Fol. Amſt. 1631. pag. 104.

cloſing

cloſing a piece of ground, raiſed a few feet above the common level, which every one knows was the cuſtom of the Danes, as well as of ſome other Northern nations. [a] And Wormius obſerves, that if any Daniſh chief was ſlain in a foreign country, they took care to bury him as pompouſly, as if he had died in his own. Mr Aubrey's account of it is this. "About a mile [or "leſs] from the Hill [White-Horſe Hill] there are a great ma- "ny large ſtones, which though very confuſed, muſt yet be laid "there on purpoſe. Some of them are placed edgwiſe, but the "reſt are ſo diſorderly, that one would imagine, they were tum- "bled out of a cart". The diſorder which Mr Aubrey ſpeaks of, is occaſioned, by the people having thrown down ſome of the ſtones (for they all ſeem originally to have been ſet on edge) and broken them to pieces to mend their highways. Thoſe that are left, encloſe a piece of ground of an irregular figure at preſent, but which formerly might have been an oblong [b] ſquare, extending duly North and South.

Wayland-Smith.

On the eaſtſide of the Southern extremity, ſtand Three Squariſh flat ſtones of about four or five feet over each way, ſet on edge, and ſupporting a Fourth of much larger dimenſions, lying flat upon them. Theſe altogether form a Cavern or ſheltring place, reſembling pretty exactly thoſe deſcribed by Wormius, Bartholine, and others, except in the dimenſions of the ſtones; for whereas this may ſhelter only ten or a dozen ſheep from a ſtorm, Wormius mentions one in Denmark, that would ſhelter a hundred.

I know of no other monument of this ſort in England: but

a Extra patriam ſi in prælio occubuiſſet Dux, non minus magnifice, quam domi eum tumulatum ſupra innuimus. Ol. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 36. *b Arcam inſuper Quadratam adjicientes, quæ totam molem grandioribus ſaxis includeret.* Ol. Wormius. Mon. Danic. p. 34.

in [a] Wales, and the Iſle of Angleſey there are ſeveral, not unlike it, called by the natives *Cromlechs*. The Iſle of Angleſey having been the chief ſeat of the Druids, induced it's learned [b] antiquary to aſcribe them to the ancient Britains, an aſſertion that I will not take upon me to contradict; but ſhall only at this time obſerve, that I find ſufficient authorities to convince me, that Ours muſt be Daniſh. The northern [c] antiquaries agree to call them ALTARS; and [d] Bartholine ſaith *They uſually bore the name of the perſon buried under them.* He tells us likewiſe, that *They were raiſed by the Sons, Grandſons, or other friends of the deceaſed.* And that theſe burial monuments were applied to the purpoſe of ſacrificing, is not improbable; ſince it was the [e] cuſtom of the Pagan Danes to deify their great men. In Denmark Three of theſe Altars are commonly found together, deſigned, as is ſuppoſed, for the ſervice of their Three chief Deities, Thor, Woden, and Frea, but Wormius lays it down as a rule, that

[a] See Mr Llhuyd's Additions to the Britannia in Pembrokeſhire, and Mr Rowland's Mona Antiqua Reſtaurata. 4to. Dublin. 1723. p. 92, 93, 213. [b] Rowland's Mona Antiqua Reſt. Pag. 69. & 213. [c] *Commemoratione dignum videtur, notatum quoque ab aliis, quod in regione hac ingentis molis ſaxa complura, quæ nulla vectatione, nulla vi hominum illac deportari potuiſſe ob magnitudinem credas, congeſta inveniantur, quorum ea diſpoſitio eſt, ut ARAS referre videantur. Nam jacentibus nonnullis, alia iis impoſita ſunt plana, relictumque foramen anguſtum per quod homo reptare poſſit.* Ubbo Emmius Hiſt. Friſ. Lib. I. p. 21. *ARARUM ſtructura apud nos varia eſt. Maxima ex parte congeſto ex terra conſtant tumulo, in cujus ſummitate* Tria ingentia Saxa, Quartum illudque majus, latius, ac planius, ſuſtinent, ſulciunt ac ſuſtentant, ut inſtar menſæ tribus ſulcris innixæ emineat. Sub hac mole Cavitas viſitur, *in quibuſdam vaſta ſatis, in aliis terra ac lapidibus repleta, quæ ſanguini victimarum recipiendo deputata creditur.* Ol. Worm. Mon. Dan. pag. 7. [d] *Cæterum Saxa illa tumulos mortuorum indicantia, cum omnis literaturæ eſſent expertia, plerumque in ARÆ modum coagmentata fuiſſe,* tribus oblongioribus quartum grandius & latius ſulcientibus, *Wormius ſuſpicatur Lib. 1. c. 7. Mon. Dan. Quomodocunque poſita nomen ab defuncto, in cujus honorem erigebantur, ſortita, ex Finnoboga Ramma Saga diſcimus. Poſt acceſſum Finni communiter eum* [Finbogum] *ſub lapide ſepelierunt, qui deinde lapis Finbogi nominatus eſt. Erigebantur hi lapides, ab filiis, nepotibus, vel amicis, fidem faciente vetuſtiſſima in Edda Sæmundi Oda Havamal.* Tho. Bartholinus. Cauſæ contemptæ à Danis Mortis. p. 121. [e] *Colunt & Deos ex hominibus factos, quos pro ingentibus factis immortalitate donant ſicut in vita S. Anſgarii legitur Hericus rex feciſſe.* Adam. Bremenſis, apud Bartholinum.

where

where we meet with *a Single one*, as in the preſent caſe, we are to look upon it, [a] *as a Sepulchral Altar, where ſacrifices were to be annually performed in honour of the defunct.* The Welch word *Cromlech* too, according to their [b] Antiquaries, is only the Hebrew חרם לוח, Cherem-luach, i. e. *The devoted*, or *Altar Stone.* I muſt not here forget to mention, that there ſeem to have been two approaches to our Altar, through Rows of large ſtones ſet on edge, One from the South, The Other from the Weſt, the latter leading directly into the Cavern.

Whether this remarkable piece of Antiquity ever bore the name of the perſon here buried, is not now to be learned; the true meaning of it being long ſince loſt in ignorance and fable. All the account, which the country people are able to give of it, is "At this place lived formerly an inviſible Smith; and "if a traveller's Horſe had loſt a Shoe upon the road, he had "no more to do, than to bring the Horſe to this place, with "a piece of money, and leaving both there for ſome little time, "he might come again and find the money gone, but the Horſe "new ſhod." The ſtones ſtanding upon the *Rudge-way* as it is called; (which was the [c] ſituation, that they choſe for burial monuments) I ſuppoſe, gave occaſion to the whole being called WAYLAND-SMITH: which is the name it was always known by to the country people.

a Raro unicam ſolam invenies, ſæpius Tres, brevi intervallo à ſe invicem diſtantes, in honorem Trium primariorum Idolorum erectas. Unica ubi viſitur, maxima ex parte Sepulchro impoſita eſſe ſolet. Eo fine ut ibidem in memoriam defuncti quotannis ſacra peragantur. Mon. Dan. p.8. *b* Mona Ant. Reſt. Pag 47, 214. *c Dani cum Pyramides ac Obeliſcos extrucre non potuerint, olim in memoriam Regum ac Heroum ſuorum ex terra coacervata ingentes moles montium inſtar eminentes ſtatuiſſe, credibile omnino ac probabile eſt. Atque illis adeo in locis, ut plurimum, quo ſæpe homines commearent, aut iter haberent, ut in Viis Publicis, quo poſteritati memoriam clariſſimorum virorum conſecrarent.* Jo. Cypræus Annal. Eccl. Sleſvic. Lib. I. c. 2.

An.

An Engliſh antiquary might find buſineſs enough, who ſhould attempt to unriddle all the fabulous traditions of the vulgar, which aſcribe theſe works of unknown antiquity to Demons, and inviſible powers: but perhaps this particular of the Horſe, may be owing to the cuſtom of the Danes, and other northern nations, of ſacrificing ſome favourite animal to the *manes* of the deceaſed. For whether they buried or burnt the body, it was uſual to add to it, His Arms, together with ſome animal, and more eſpecially an [a] Horſe. I have been informed, that in one of the Barrows lately dug up on theſe Downs, but nearer to Wantage, beſides a human Sceleton, were found the horns of a Stag.

Leaving therefore the ſtory of the inviſible Smith to be diſcuſſed by thoſe, who have more leiſure: I only remark, that theſe ſtones are, according to the beſt Daniſh antiquaries, a Burial Altar; that their being raiſed in the midſt of a plain field, near the great road, ſeems to indicate ſome perſon there ſlain, and buried; and that this perſon was probably a Chief or King; there being no monument of this ſort near that place, perhaps not in England beſide. If it be allowed me likewiſe, that King Ethelred lay encamped at Hardwell, this will afford another ar-

a *Struem rogi, nec veſtibus, nec odoribus cumulant: SUA cuique ARMA, quorundam igni & EQUUS adjicitur, ſepulchrum ceſpes erigit.* Tacit. de Mor. Germ. *Gerrhi Scythica gens, defuncto Rege, in tumulo ubi cadaver odoribus delibutum erat, præcipuam Concubinarum, Coquum, Agaſonem, ac Miniſtrum una tumulare, EQUOSQUE, & quinquaginta ex miniſtris ad rogum præſocare aſſueverant.* Alexander ab Alexand. Lib. III. c. 7. *Aſmundus ob amicitiæ jusjurandum, vivum ſe cum Aſviti cadavere (quod cum CANE & EQUO, terreno mandabatur antro) contumulari ſuſtinuit.* Saxo Gram. Hiſt. Dan. Lib. V. *Frotho convocatis quas vicerat gentibus, lege cavit, ut quiſquis paterfamilias eo concideret bello, cum EQUO omnibuſque ARMATURÆ ſuæ inſignibus tumulo mandaretur.* Idem Lib. V. *Haraldi corpus exquiri præcepit* [Ringo] *ne regium funus debitis fraudaretur inferiis —— Haraldi* manibus parentandum *ratus, EQUUM quem inſidebat, regio applicatum curru aureis ſubſelliis decenter inſtratum ejus titulis dedicavit: uti Haraldus eo vectore uſus fati conſortes ad tartara antecederet —— Ibique cum EQUO & ARMIS regio more funerari præcepit.* Idem Lib. VIII.

gument,

gument, for it's being raiſed for the King ſlain, whoſe troops were oppoſed to King Ethelred's diviſion, as thoſe of the Counts were to Alfred's: for the ſtones are about half a mile from Hardwell camp.

The Seven Barrows.

If this was a burying place for the King only, and not common to the nobles, who were ſlain with him: I would chooſe to fix the interment of the Counts, at a remarkable place, called *The Seven Barrows*; about a mile from hence, and nearer to *King Alfred's Caſtle*. Aſſer mentions, it is true, only five Counts, the two Sidrocs, Fræna, Harold, and Osbern; perhaps two others of leſs note, might eſcape him. Or ſhall we admit [a] Ingulfus his authority to clear up this difficulty, who, to the King and Five Counts before mentioned, adds King Orguil and Count Fungus? However this be, I muſt here obſerve, that tho' in common ſpeech they are called *The Seven Barrows*, yet the number is by no means ſtinted to *Seven*; nor are there *Seven* more remarkable than the reſt. So that at this day there lies ſomething veiled and hid under this phraſe; and moſt probably the number of the nobility there buried. Theſe Barrows are of various forms. There is one Long, and Two or Three of thoſe, which Dr Stukely calls Celtick, with a ring of earth a little raiſed above the level, and encloſing a piece of ground, with a ſmall eminence in the middle. I counted, within the extent of ſix or ſeven hundred yards, no leſs than twenty in all. I know that [b] Long Barrows ought to be reckoned Daniſh, and probably were deſigned for Kings, but I cannot remove King Baskey from *Wayland Smith* to this place, for the reaſons above given.

[a] Ingulf. Hiſt. Pag. 35. Ed. Oxon. [b] *Regios tumulos ad magnitudinem & figuram Carinæ maximæ navis, ex iis quas poſſidebant, fabricatos volunt.* Ol. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 43.

I can-

Other more ancient Antiquities.

I cannot take my leave of this part of the country, without adding a word or two, concerning ſome antiquities of a different kind, and ſuperiour age, to thoſe already mentioned. And I hope you will the more readily excuſe my detaining you, becauſe there ſeems not to have been ſufficient notice taken of them by others.

The Name of Berkſhire.

The firſt thing that offers itſelf to me, is the Name of this County. By [a] Aſſer who lived neareſt to the time of dividing the land into *Shares* or *Shires*, it is called Bepnocrcipe *from the wood* BERROC, *where*, he ſays, *Box grew in great plenty*. [b] Camden ſays, others chooſe to derive it from a *Bare Oak*, or *Oak disbarked*, under which the natives formerly were uſed to aſſemble, to conſult about publick affairs. He has given the hint likewiſe for deriving it from the *Bibroci* a Colony of the Belgæ, who ſettled in Britain, according to Cæſar, and in this part of it, according to Camden, who is followed herein by later writers. For proof of this, it is urged that *Bibrax*, one of their towns in Gaul is melted down to *Bray* [or rather *Brayne*] which is likewiſe the name of once a conſiderable town in Berkſhire, which gives name to the Hundred. But though the *Bibroci* ſhould be allowed, to have their ſettlement here; yet I ſee no reaſon for rejecting Aſſer's teſtimony. For if it will be allowed me, that they might give their name to the wood *Berroc*, which before the Saxon corruption might be *Biberroc* or *Bibroc*, and probably was a town of theirs, according to the then manner of living; this is all, that I ſhall at preſent contend for. Perhaps it may be ſome ſatisfaction to hear, that the wood *Berroc* was till very

[a] *Vita Alfredi.* Pag. 1. [b] *Britannia in Berkſhire.*

lately

lately in being. For, as I am informed by my worthy friend Bartholomew Tipping of Wolley Eſq. a gentleman very well verſed in Antiquity, and who was pleaſed to give me his aſſiſtance, throughout the whole courſe of theſe enquiries, There is in the pariſh of Sulham near Reading a place called *Box-grove*, where *Box grew in great plenty*, according to Aſſer; ſome adjacent lands in the pariſh of Tilehurſt he has found likewiſe upon enquiry, abounded with this ſort of wood within the memory of ſeveral perſons. The laſt remains of Boxgrove were grubbed up not above two years ſince. So that we need not doubt, but here grew the wood *Berroc*, from whence the whole County was denominated.

Ickenild-Street.

The next that occurs, is ICKENILD-STREET, which went from Eaſt to Weſt, confeſſedly the moſt obſcure of the Four Great Roman Ways; and as hard to be traced through the different Counties, as it's name through the different dialects, which have prevailed in this kingdom. If I can therefore recover it's courſe, where it is ſuppoſed to be loſt, I hope I ſhall do an acceptable piece of ſervice to the Antiquaries. As to the name of this road, though I will not peremptorily deny it's being derived from the ICENI, the inhabitants of Cambridgeſhire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, (from whence it ſeems to begin it's courſe) which is the general opinion: yet I cannot but wonder, that no antiquary has ever thought of deriving it, from the perſon, who may reaſonably enough be ſuppoſed to be the author of it, after the manner of the VIA APPIA, ÆMILIA, FLAMINIA, VALERIA, AURELIA, in other countries. I would not wantonly, and without ſome grounds, thwart an hypotheſis allowed and authoriſed by ſo many and great names; but expect ſo much favour from the learned, as to be excuſed, if I cannot

help bringing to my mind upon this occaſion, the great AGRICOLA, Veſpaſian's Lieutenant, the firſt who took pains to [a] civilize the barbarous Britains. The moſt emphatical ſyllables of his name, I ſhall ſhew, may be found in This: and I preſume I need not give inſtances of dropping the firſt ſyllable, it being ſo uſual an abbreviation with our natives, that examples are obvious to every one. The common way of writing it in old authors, is indeed ICKENING, ICKENILD, or ICKENELD; as likewiſe RICNING and RICNELD. If ICKENELD, be the true reading, it ſeems to mean only the *Old Icken*, and perhaps may favour my hypotheſis, rather than diſcountenance it: eſpecially if this ſhould be thought a corruption of the Saxons, ignorant of it's true author. If RICNING and RICNELD, be the truer reading, theſe ſeem to come ſtill nearer to Agricola. Other corruptions, ſuch as *Acknil*, *Hackney*, and *Hackington*, mentioned by [b] Dr Plot, are yet wider from the ſame original, but ſuch as etymologiſts meet with every day. But I am perſwaded, that the moſt authentick word for this road, will be found to be ICKLE or RICKLE; at leaſt I find it ſo, in that part of it where I have travelled: and if the names of towns lying upon it, are of any weight in this caſe, as ſurely they muſt be; it will appear to be ſo, in that part of it, where I have not travelled.

In it's weſtward courſe from *Barley* in Hertfordſhire, where antiquaries firſt diſcover it, it goes through a town called ICKLEFORD, in which pariſh is a hamlet called *Romrick*, which ſeems a corruption of *Romanrick* or *Rickle*. Dr Stukely too ſomewhere obſerves, that it is called ICLING-DYKE. Croſſing Buckinghamſhire, it enters Oxfordſhire at Chinner;

[a] See Tacitus his Life of Agricola. [b] Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire p. 315.

through

through which county Dr Plot has traced it to Goring, ſo acroſs the Thames to Strately in Berkſhire, which receives its name from it: and here our learned friend [a] Roger Gale Eſquire gives it up for loſt. But tho' it loſes it's name, it ſtill maintains it's courſe weſtward to *Blubery*, and near that town is viſible enough. I muſt obſerve, that *Blubery* implies ſomething Roman in it's termination; and that there is a Hill at a little diſtance from the road, between Aſton and Blubery, called *Bluberton* or *Bluberdon*, which appears to have been formerly a ſtrong Roman fortification, though the plough has well nigh demoliſhed the works. It is here known by no other name, than, that of the *Great Reading road.* From Blubery it went undoubtedly to Wantage; but whether it took the ſame courſe, as the modern great road, to Upton and Harwell, being called the *Portway*, which is an uſual name for a Roman road; or whether it's true courſe went to Chilton, more on the left hand, under the Hills, and is now loſt in the ploughed fields, till we come near to Lockynge, where is a raiſed way ſtill called ICLETON-MEER, pointing to Wantage; I have not had leiſure to ſatisfy myſelf throughly, as I ought. But immediately after it has paſſed Wantage, it goes by it's true name, ICKLETON-WAY, all under the Hills (as before under the Chiltern through Buckinghamſhire and Oxfordſhire) between them, and Childrey, Sparſholt, Uffington, ſo under the White-horſe Hill, leaving Woolſton and Compton on the right hand, thence to Aſhbury, and Biſhopſton, pointing towards Abery in Wiltſhire, and perhaps to the Devizes; but not at all to Salisbury, as is commonly imagined.

Since I have tranſgreſſed the bounds which I had ſet myſelf,

[a] See his *Eſſay on the Four Great Roman ways*, in Leland's Itinerary Vol. 6.

by going ſo far weſtward; I cannot but recommend to antiquaries the tracing likewiſe of it's Eaſtern courſe, from Barley in Hertfordſhire, where we began. There is found ſufficient in the names of towns, if I am not deceived, to conduct us a good way in this enquiry. It is obſerved by Camden, and others, that it points from Barley to ICKLETON, ICALTUNE, or ICALDUNE (for ſo many ways it is written) in Cambridgeſhire, nigh to which ſtood a ſmall Roman City, called *Burrough-Bank*. From thence probably, it may go to ICLINGHAM, in Suffolk, from thence to ICKLEWORTH, in the ſame County. Perhaps it may be met with again by antiquaries at HACKFORD a ſmall village in the County of Norfolk. The next that promiſes any thing to the purpoſe is HICKLING a market town, and poſſibly it may end a little beyond, ſomewhere thereabout not far from the Sea Coaſt. If RICKLING in Eſſex had come within this line in the Maps, I could willingly have taken it into the number; and notwithſtanding the diſtance, it poſſibly may have a relation to the great Road, by means of a Vicinal one branching from it, about Cheſterford in Hertfordſhire.

If my ſuppoſition, that Agricola was the author of this road, be right; it probably was made after the other three, it being the cuſtom of the Romans, as ſoon as a country was reduced into the form of a Province, to employ both their own Souldiers, and the natives, immediately in making of High-ways, for the more commodious intercourſe of the inhabitants. The other Three ſeem deſigned to meaſure the length of Britain, this to promote a communication through the breadth of it, as it afterwards might be found neceſſary. It's being the laſt, may be one reaſon too, why it has retained it's author's name; unleſs we imagine it owing to the Britains grateful remembrance

of

of Agricola's adminiſtration, who ruled in a different manner from his predeceſſors. For we don't find the leaſt relicks of the names of A. Plautius, P. Oſtorius Scapula, A. Didius, Paulinus Suetonius, Petilius Cerealis, Julius Frontinus, Proprætors in Britain before Agricola, in the words *Foſs*, *Erming*, or *Watling*, though perhaps all three were made by one or other of them.

The many roads, that Agricola may be ſuppoſed to have made during eight or nine years reſidence in the Iſland, will account for this name being found belonging to roads, of ſo contrary directions through England, as this we are ſpeaking of, and that which croſſeth Glouceſterſhire, Worceſterſhire, and Warwickſhire, and is likewiſe called [a] ICKLE-STREET.

The Great ICKLE or RICKLE-WAY, for I muſt now beg leave to call it ſo, is to be ſought for, for the moſt part, under that ridge of chalky hills, which runs acroſs England from Eaſt to Weſt. And, I believe, if it was accurately ſurveyed, would afford us a greater number of Roman towns, and fortreſſes, lying upon it, conſidering it's length, than either of the other Three.

Dragon-Hill.

Between the Ickleton-way and White-horſe-hill, under the Horſe, ſtands a large Barrow, which the common people living hereabouts, call DRAGON-HILL; and they have a tradition, that "Here St George kill-"ed the Dragon." The Horſe too is brought into the Legend, as belonging to that Saint, who is uſually pictured on Horſe-back. They ſhew beſides a bare place on the top of it, which is a plain of about fifty or ſixty yards over, where the turf, I don't know by what means, can gain no footing; which they imagine proceeds "from the venemous bloud that iſſued from

[a] See *Dugdale's Hiſtory of Warwickſhire*. Pag. 568. Ed. Ant.

"the

"the Dragon's wound." Mr Aubrey perhaps is not much out, when he ſays, [a] "Above the ſame Hill, there is another Camp "with ſingle works [meaning Uffington-Caſtle] but very large, "and at about two furlongs diſtance is a Barrow, called Dragon-"Hill; But whether from hence one ſhould conclude this to be "the Tumulus of Uter Pendragon, ſince the conjecture is not "warranted by any direct teſtimony from hiſtory, I leave others "to determine." That it was deſigned for a funeral monument, I ſuppoſe, no one will diſpute, and from it's largeneſs and ſituation near a publick Roman way, it cannot well belong to any other people, except the Britains, who in proceſs of time by receiving the Roman cuſtoms, and by alliances with them, are to be eſteemed as one and the ſame. From it's nearneſs to Uffington Caſtle, one would be inclined to think, it belonged to the Commander of thoſe troops that had their quarters hereabouts.

The fable of St George, as antiquaries will eaſily perceive, is here of late date, and added only in conſequence of the word DRAGON, which is the old name of the Hill. PEND-RAGON, as [b] Mr Baxter proves, is not the proper, but common appellative of a Britiſh King, and ſignifies *Caput Regum, the Chief of Kings*, conſtituted ſuch by the Votes of the reſt, in times of publick diſtreſs. Thus Caſſibelan was choſen by the allies [c] *Pendragon* at the time of Julius Cæſar's invaſion. ARDH-RIG or ARDH-RAG, or ARD-HEER according to the ſame author, is only *Summus Rex* or *Dominus*, meaning the ſame thing with *Pendragon*; this is the *Arviragus* of [d] Juvenal, and the *Arthur* of

a Additions to the Britannia in Berkſhire. *b* See his *Gloſſarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, in the words PENDRAGON and ARVIRAGUS. *c Summa imperii, bellique adminiſtrandi, communi conſilio permiſſa eſt Caſſivellano. Noſtro adventu permoti Britanni hunc bello imperioque præfecerant.* Cæſar. Comm. Lib.V. *d Regem aliquem capies, vel de temone Britanno Excidet ARVIRAGUS.* Juven. Sat. IV. v.127.

[a] Nennius

[a] Nennius and [b] Geoffrey of Monmouth. [c] And H. Huntingdon ſeems to confirm this, when he calls Arthur, *the warlike Leader of the Souldiers and Kings of Britain.*

After the Roman Legions had left this Iſland, and the land began to be infeſted with Picts and Scots, Vortigern ſeems to have born this title; but when by his vices and ſloth, he had made himſelf incapable of government, and the Saxons, who were called in to the aſſiſtance of the Britains, proved their formidable enemies, the Britiſh chiefs according to cuſtom choſe at ſeveral times a *Pendragon* or *Arthur*; One of which has had the good fortune to be much talked of ſince, though poſterity is not throughly ſatisfied about his proper name; but he is thought by good writers, to be no other, than Ambroſius Aurelianus, mentioned by [d] Gildas and [e] Bede: a Britain of Roman extraction, and related to the Imperial family.

Though Ambroſius Aurelianus is reported by ſome to have been poiſoned, yet it is more probable that he died in battle; which is likewiſe ſaid of King Arthur: and the Saxon Annals, whoſe authority ought to have great weight with us, ſay, that Cerdic the founder of the Weſt-Saxon kingdom, ſlew Natanleod, or Nazaleod, a Britiſh King, with 5000 of his men, in the Year 508. *Natanleod*, according to Mr Baxter, is *Naud an lûdh*, which ſignifies *Populi tutela*, i.e. *The people's refuge*: and the [f] Annals call him *Rex maximus Britannorum*; ſo that he was *Pendragon*

a *Eulogium Britanniæ, ſive Hiſtoria Britonum*, inter Hiſt. Brit. Script. XV. Fol. Oxon. 1691. Pag. 114. b *De geſtis Regum Britanniæ*. Lib. IX & X. c *Arturus belliger illis temporibus DUX MILITUM ET REGUM Britanniæ, contra illos inviciſſime pugnabat*. H. Hunt. Hiſt. p. 313. d *Duce Ambroſio Aureliano viro modeſto, qui ſolus forte Romanæ gentis, qui tantæ tempeſtatis collisione, occiſis in eadem parentibus, purpura nimirum indutis*. Gildas Excid. Brit. pag. 9. Ed. Oxon. e *Duce Ambroſio Aureliano viro modeſto, qui ſolus forte Romanæ gentis præfatæ tempeſtati ſuperfuerat, occiſis in eadem parentibus, regium nomen & inſigne ferentibus*. Bed. Eccl. Hiſt. Lib. I. c. 16. f *Henric. Huntingdon. Hiſt.* Pag. 312.

for

for that time. I fear it will hardly be found consistent with [a] Chronology to make these three to be one and the same person: and if they are three different persons, as I rather believe, I hope the reader will not think it too great a favour done to me, to allow one of them to be buried here. For as I am perswaded from the name, that we must here look for the burial place of some British, or Roman, King, and he a chief general; it would be doing injustice to my subject, not to lay claim to one, or other, of them. The great misfortune is, that it is not mentioned, where the battels were fought, and where they fell. Ambrosius by fabulous writers is said to be buried at Stonehenge in Wiltshire, about twenty six miles from hence; and the neighbouring town of [b] Ambresbury is brought to favour this opinion. But I think it would be no hard matter to prove, that *Dragon-hill* has at least, as good a title to that honour: nor can I believe that there are any better grounds to perswade us, that Arthur was buried at [c] Glastonbury, rather than at this place.

The Britains had not given up their right to these parts, till the close of the Sixth Century; as appears from some of the warmest disputes, between them, and the Saxons, happening in this neighbourhood, if authors are right in the names of places. One battle was fought so late as A. D. 581, when the Britains were conquerors, at Wodnesbyrig or *Wanborough* about five miles from this place. Before that time viz. A.D. 577, Three British Kings were slain at Deorham in Glocestershire, and three towns taken from the Britains, Glocester, Bathoncester, and Cirencester, the last of which is about 15 miles from this place. A. D.

[a] For all, I think, that we can gather from the confused History of those times, is, that *Uter* was, if not brother, successor to *Ambrosius*, and if not father, predecessor at least to *Arthur*; and therefore that these were Three successive *Pendragons*, or *Arthurs*.
[b] Usser. Prim. Eccl. Brit. Pag. 441. [c] See *Camden's Britannia in Somersetshire*.

556,

556, Cynric and Ceawlin beat the Britains at Beranbyrig, which, according to Bp Gibſon, is *Barbury Caſtle*, about five miles from hence. The battle of *Mons Badonicus*, ſpoken of by Gildas and Bede, according to the beſt accounts, was fought A. D. 520, which was Arthur's twelfth victory mentioned by Nennius. Camden obſerves that ſome people look for *Mons Badonicus* in Yorkſhire; but if *Baneſdown* near Bath be meant by it, according to him; that is not above thirty five miles from hence; but poſſibly it might be much nearer viz. at *Baydon* a town on a high hill, about three miles from White-Horſe-Hill. I have not yet learnt that there are any ſigns of a battle thereabouts, nor perhaps will Baneſdown afford us any more; but, I believe, the favourers of Baneſdown would have thought themſelves happy, if the modern name had ſo exactly tallied with the old one, as this does, and perhaps no other in England will. To ſpeak truth, I lay no great ſtreſs upon the battel being fought at Baydon; but that it was at a hill about two or three miles from it, and as many from White-Horſe Hill, I cannot think improbable; I mean at *Badbury*, perhaps the mother of modern *Baydon*, where is a ſtrong Roman fortification; and that is the only ſignal remaining, that gives Baneſdown any pretenſions to be the place. There is a Hill of the ſame name in Dorſetſhire, from whence the Hundred is called, contractedly *Badbury*, but in the Saxon Annals Baddanbyrig *Baddanbury*, perhaps corruptly for *Badonbury*, as in the preſent caſe; and this in Latin is no more than *Mons Badonicus*.

I am not ignorant, that Mr [a] Camden obſerves the Vale upon the Avon, under the Hills near Bath, is called by the Britains *Nant Badon*, i. e. *The Vale of Badon*; which made him look

[a] *Britannia* in Somerſetſhire.

for Baydon Hill juſt above it; and that an ancient copy of Gildas, immediately after ſpeaking of *Mons Badonicus*, adds, *Which is near the mouth of the Severn*; but this laſt was probably a note added ſince Gildas's time, by an unskilful geographer, ſince it is not found in other copies of Gildas, nor can Bath or Baneſdown properly be ſaid to ſtand not far from the mouth of the Severn. But I conſider how great an authority I am oppoſing, and therefore leave the queſtion to the judgment of the reader.

The ſtand, which the Britains made in Arthur's days, muſt have been chiefly againſt [a] Cerdic, the founder of the Weſt-Saxon kingdom, and the battle of Badon in particular, whether near Bath, or this place, could not well be fought with any one elſe. The perſon here buried, we have reaſon to think, was ſome Britiſh chief, who fell in one of thoſe laſt ſtruggles for his country's liberty, and in all probability fighting againſt the Weſt-Saxons, whoſe kingdom extended to theſe parts. The Saxon Annals mention only one ſlain by Cerdic, viz. Natanleod or Nazaleod, whoever he was, (whether Ambroſius, Uter, or Arthur, I ſhall not determine,) to whoſe burial place, no town or country, that I know of, ſeems to have any juſt pretenſions, and whom I muſt therefore beg leave to ſuppoſe was the perſon; till further evidence ſhall appear to the contrary.

[a] In chronicis cujuſdam Divionenſis comparent. *Cerdicus cum Arturio confligens ſæpius, ſi uno menſe vinceretur, in alio menſe acrior ſurrexit ad pugnam, tandem Arturius tædio fatigatus, poſt duodecimum annum adventus Cerdici, fidelitate ſibi jurata, dedit ei Avoniam meridianam, & Somariam, quam partem vocavit Cerdicius Viſi Saxoniam.* Leland. Aſſertio Arthuri. pag. 4. I ſuppoſe Higden means this Chronicle when he ſays, *In quibuſdam chronicis legitur, quod Cerdicus ſæpius cum Arturo confligens, ſi ſemel vinceretur, alia vice acrior ſurrexit ad pugnam: tandem Arturus extædiatus poſt XXVI annum adventus Cerdici, fidelitate ſibi jurata, dedit ei Hampſhiram & Somerſetam, quam partem vocavit Weſtſexam.* Ranulph. Higden Polychron. A°. 544.

We

We muſt not paſs by Wantage, the Capital of the Vale of White-horſe, the ſeat of the Weſt Saxon Kings, and birthplace of K. Alfred. A learned and ingenious [a] writer now living, has given it yet a higher title, even that of a Roman Station. The name he is pleaſed to call it by, is GLEVUM or CLEVUM in the Itinerary, which *Glouceſter* had long been in poſſeſſion of; but he makes that City amends, by giving it another, viz. BLESTIUM; making ARICONIUM, the next in order, to be *Cirenceſter*: "From "whence to GLEVUM or *Wantage*, Fifteen miles; and from "GLEVUM to CORINIUM DOBUNORUM, other-"wiſe DUROCORNOVIUM, (ſo he calls *Dorcheſter* in "Oxfordſhire) Fourteen Miles:" according to Antoninus. I ſhall not take upon me to be umpire in a diſpute, where perſons, ſo much my ſuperiours in learning, may poſſibly be concerned; but will do ſo much juſtice to this Scheme, as to aſſure the world, that Wantage was a Roman town; and perhaps no inconſiderable one, if we may gueſs from a Weſt-Saxon King, and he the Succeſſor of Egbert, having it for his place of abode. It is difficult at this diſtance of time to trace out the Roman remains, in a town that has undergone ſo many alterations, as this has done. Where Roman works have been deſtroyed, to make room for Saxon, and theſe again, for more modern devices. However to an antiquary, I believe, it will appear, that all footſteps of the Roman majeſty are not quite loſt: the *Caſtrum* or Fortification, diſcovering itſelf to me pretty plainly on the South ſide of the brook, encloſing a place called *High-Garden*. The hollow way into the town from Faringdon, with *Groveſtreet*, (which was within the memory of *Wantage.*

[a] N. Salmon LLB. in his *New Survey of England*. 8vo. Lond. 1721. p. 752.

perſons now living a hollow way too) and a little running water, now a Moraſs, dividing the *High-garden* from the *Lower*, make three ſides of an oblong ſquare, and the River the fourth. The ground encloſed may contain about Six acres: and here ſtood the Saxon palace where Alfred was born. On the North ſide of the brook is an encloſure called *Limborough*, implying ſomething Roman in the name, tho', I confeſs, not ecchoing to GLEVUM. But if *Lim*, or *Lim iu*, ſignify *Torrens undæ*, according to Mr Baxter, it may allude to the falling of the water, which before the courſes of the ſprings were turned, as they have been, might be very rapid. In *Limborough* Roman coins are commonly found; I ſaw a braſs one, ploughed up laſt year, of Valens, the reverſe SECVRITAS REIPVBLICÆ. On the outſide of the fortification, between *Limborough*, and the river, was diſcovered many years ſince, the remains of a building, which the inhabitants called *The Cellar*, and *King Alfred's Cellar*; it was paved at bottom with brick, and by the deſcription of it ſhould ſeem to be a Bath.

Of Saxon remains here, the High-Garden may be reckoned One, as containing the King's Palace, tho' originally Roman. Between Limborough and the brook is a Cloſe, called *Court-Cloſe*; and another little piece of ground, in ſome modern writings, which I have ſeen, called *Paddock's More*, *alias Pallet's-More*; which I ſuſpect to be a corruption of *Palace-More*. I am indebted, for moſt of theſe notices, to an ingenious [a] friend living upon the ſpot.

The country about Wantage was probably, in great part, Royal demeſne, and the patrimony of the Weſt-Saxon Kings, till granted away by degrees to favourites, and to religious

[a] Mr Edward Towſey, Apothecary in Wantage.

houſes;

houſes; as we may gather from the names of places hereabouts. About a mile eaſt of Wantage is *King's Grove*, a Common ſo called; a mile on the other ſide is *King's Letcombe*; beſides theſe *Kingſton Liſle*; and *Uffington*, which is commonly taken for *Offa's-town*, and is indeed wrote *Offentone* in Domeſday, and was once no doubt part of his territories, for Mr Camden in Berkſhire, writes from an old Book, *After that Kenulph was overthrown, whatſoever lay under his juriſdiction from the town of Wallingford, in the South part from Ickenild-ſtreet as far as Eſſebury* [or Aſhbury] *and in the North part as far as the river Thames, King OFFA ſeized upon.* Though after all, it may ſignify no more than *Kingſton*: for [a] Hen. Huntingdon, ſays, that *Uffa* King of the Eaſt Angles was had in ſuch eſteem after his death, that ſucceeding Kings were called from him *Uffings*. *Woolſton* a town ſtanding juſt under White-Horſe hill, called in ſome old writings (which I have ſeen in the hands of the preſent worthy Lord of the Manour, Bartholomew Tipping Eſq.) *Wulferithſton*, ſeems to have been denominated from ſome Saxon nobleman, to whom probably it was given, as a reward of his valour, at the battle of Aſhdown. I find in the Saxon [b] Annals *Wulfricus* and *Wulfredus* attendants upon King Alfred in his wars, the former ſtiled *Regius Strator & Comes Britannicus*, probably the ſame Officer with *Maſter of the Horſe*, he died, or was ſlain, A. D. 897. The latter is called *Dux in Hamtunſcyre*, and died of the plague near the ſame time: I think this laſt moſt likely to be the perſon.

a Regnum primus tenuit UFFA, à quo reges Orientalium Anglorum UFFINGAS appellant. Hiſt. Lib. II. pag. 315. *b* Ðẏ ilcan ȝeꞃe. ꝼoꞃð-ꝼeꞃð ꝼulꝼꞃic cẏninȝeꝼ hoꞃꝼ-þeȝen. ꝼe þæꝼ ꝼealh ȝeꞃeꝼa:. Saxon Annal. Pag. 99. ꝼulꝼꞃeð ealðoꞃ-man on Hamtunꝼcẏꞃe. Pag. 97.

The

Sagbury and Uffington Caſtles.

The lately mentioned * author took the hint, for fixing GLEVUM ſomewhere in the neighbourhood of Wantage, from a fortification taken notice of by Mr Aubrey, as being about a mile from Wantage upon the hill overlooking the Vale juſt above Letcombe, from whence it is commonly called *Letcombe-Caſtle*, but the more knowing inhabitants inform me, that the true name is *Sagbury*, I ſuppoſe, from the Saxon word Secge ſignifying a *Soldier*. It is a large entrenchment containing about twenty five acres, and was undoubtedly the Summer quarters of the garriſon at Wantage. But I muſt ſubmit it to the further enquiry of that learned gentleman, ſince this fortification was his only reaſon for looking for GLEVUM hereabouts, whether he had not better have choſen *Uffington-Caſtle*, above the White-Horſe, for his *Medius Terminus* between ARICONIUM and DUROCORNOVIUM. I believe upon examination he would find the diſtances anſwer more truly. For though the whole number of miles from Cirenceſter to Dorcheſter, correſponds pretty well; being about Twenty nine, or Thirty, in all: yet the diſtance from Wantage to Dorcheſter is too ſmall, being about Nine inſtead of Fourteen, and from Wantage to Cirenceſter too large, being Twenty inſtead of Fifteen. But Uffington Caſtle, which is five miles nearer to Cirenceſter, than Wantage is, and upon the ſtrait Ickleton road too, (which ſeems to be the way moſt known to the Romans, though there is another now, a little nearer) muſt conſequently be Fifteen from Cirenceſter, and Fourteen from Dorcheſter, exactly according to the numbers in the Itinerary.

* N. Salmon LLB. *New Survey of England.*

There

Some other Antiquities.

There are ſeveral antiquities beſides in theſe parts, as yet unobſerved by others, which I have neither leiſure, nor inclination to treat of at preſent. Such as a fortification on Childrey-hill, between Uffington-Caſtle and Sagbury, probably of later date, than the times of the Romans, from whence begins a ſmall boundary, directing it's courſe to Lamborne, which is called *Eaſt-Ditch*: as likewiſe another much larger boundary beginning near Sagbury, and running for ſeveral miles, on the brow of the Hills eaſtward, as I obſerved it in my road to Blubery. Theſe therefore I ſhall leave to the conſideration of others: what I here communicate to the publick, having been only a ſeaſonable diverſion from the fatigue of a much larger work; which, ſince my firſt entrance upon it, has continually grown upon my hands, and found me full employment for ſeveral years laſt paſt: and I fear there is enough left for one or two more to come.

The preſent Eſſay I undertook, not only out of a deſire, which I have always had, to do juſtice to the memory of that inimitable Prince, whoſe affairs are the chief ſubject of it, but likewiſe to induce other perſons of more leiſure, and greater abilities, to follow the ſame deſign. For if one County, to which I have chiefly confined myſelf, and only a ſmall part of that too, has afforded ſuch a variety of antiquities, ſcarce taken notice of by others; and to the knowledge of which I was at firſt led by accident only: how much greater things may be expected from gentlemen of learning, that ſhall ſet out with a fixed reſolution, of purſuing the like enquiries through the whole kingdom.

If I have not tired your patience, I fear, I have at leaſt exceeded the bounds of an Epiſtle, and ſhall therefore take my leave

leave by aſſuring you, that, though I am deſirous, the world ſhould look upon this ſmall offering, as a tribute due to publick ſpirit, rather than the return of a private friendſhip; yet I ſhall never let ſlip any opportunity of profeſſing, how much I am,

SIR,

Your obliged and obedient

Humble Servant

Trin. Coll. Oxon.
Dec. 21. 1738.

Francis Wise.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHILST theſe Sheets were printing, the learned and truly noble Earl of Oxford, whoſe greateſt pleaſure is to promote every enquiry, that may tend to illuſtrate our Engliſh Hiſtory, hearing of my deſign, was pleaſed to communicate to me the following extract from a MS. in his own ineſtimable library; which coming too late to be inſerted in it's proper place, I beg leave to add here. "From this pleaſant town "of Farindon in Barkſhire Travellers may go two ways to Bri- "ſtow, either by Leachlade in Gloceſterſhire, or by Hyworth in "Wiltſhire. In the way to Hyworth from Farringdon, which is "accompted 4 miles, you ſhall go by Coltſwell, where Sr George "Pratt (now defunct) hath built a noble houſe with Curious "Gardens, ſeated on the ſide of a hill, which comands as no- "ble a proſpect. Here I may take occaſion to ſpeake of that "Ancient Land marke or remarcable work of Antiquity, which "gives name to our Country the Vale of White Horſe; for in "the way betwixt Faringdon and Hyworth, ſome 5 or 6 miles "diſtante, you have the beſt proſpect of the White Horſe, cut "in the ſide of a white chalky hill, a mile above Uffington. "The Manger, as they caleth it, or ſides and bottome, where "this Horſe is cutt, is now in the poſſeſſion of my loving friend "and neighbor, Mr Wiſeman of Sparſwell's Court: and ſome "that dwell hereabout have an obligacion upon their Lands, to "repair and cleanſe this Land marke, or elſe in time it may "turne green, like the reſt of the hill, and be forgotten.

"As touching the originall of this eminent Landmark, which "gives its name to one of the beſt Vales of England; I heard

"my Father ſay, who was a man well read in Antiquityes, that "he thought it was Hengiſt, the Saxon conqueror, who in re- "membrance of his exploits, this being his Armes or Creſt to "them, cauſed this figure to be cut here. This Hengiſt came in- "to England A. D. 450. being ſent for by Vortiger, to aſſiſt him "in his warres." [a] *Thomas Baskervile Eſq. of Sunningwell in Berkſhire, his Journal of his Travels over great part of England, in the years 1677, 1678. Folio.*

By this the reader will ſee, not only that the White Horſe is no imaginary thing, as Camden would perſwade us, but what have been the ſentiments of learned men about it, with regard to it's antiquity. I had been informed likewiſe of what this gentleman advances, viz. "That lands in this neighbourhood "were charged with the expence of Scouring the Horſe;" and it is inconceivable how ſuch a notion could prevail, had there not been formerly ſome ground for it. But upon the ſtricteſt inquiſition, I could find no ſuch tenure at preſent. Nor is it to be wonder'd at, conſidering the migration of lands from family to family; it being the intereſt of every owner at the time of alienation, to disburthen ſuch lands, as much as poſſible, of all incumbrances.

[a] This Thomas Baskervile Eſq. of Bayworth in the pariſh of Sunningwell near Abingdon, was a gentleman of learning and curioſity, eſpecially in his younger years, he was commonly known to the ſtudents of Oxford, by the nick-name of *The King of Jeruſalem*, and died about the year 1705, Aged 90 and upwards, as appears from a Print of him. His Father was Hannibal Baskervile formerly of Brazen College in Oxford. See ſome account of him in *The Life of Mr Antony a Wood*, written by himſelf, and printed by Mr Hearne at the end of *Tho. Caii Vindiciæ Acad. Oxon.* Vol. 2. Pag. 516.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS UPON THE WHITE HORSE AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES IN BERKSHIRE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

WHITELEAF-CROSS IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

As alſo of The RED HORSE in Warwickſhire, and ſome other Monuments of the ſame kind.

By FRANCIS WISE B.D. Fell. of Trin. Coll. Oxon.

OXFORD,
Printed for *Thomas Wood* at the Univerſity Printing-Houſe,
MDCCXLII.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS UPON THE WHITE HORSE &c.

IF we would be throughly acquainted with former ages, and without it, I fear, we ſhall never make a right judgment of the preſent, we muſt ſearch into their Hiſtory and Monuments, whatever they are, and be content with ſuch informations as they will afford us. And it cannot, I preſume, be thought an irrational amuſement, to trace the progreſs of arts and ſciences through their ſeveral ſtages; and to note their origin, declenſion, and emerſion; for this it muſt be owned is the buſineſs in effect. If ſome ages are more obſcure than others, deſtitute of Hiſtory, and inelegant as to monuments, their fate is much to be lamented, and the employment here, we confeſs, is uninviting. But the Monuments, however rude and barbarous, ſtill have their uſe, and contribute equally to the end propoſed.

In England books and records ſeem to have been thoroughly examined; and as far as theſe will carry us back, the more early part of our Hiſtory has been traced out by ſeveral able hands. Though it muſt be confeſſed, that the beſt appearance

it bears is very jejune and imperfect: and that thoſe who have attempted to ſupply it's defects, have been obliged to have recourſe to fiction and fable. Nothing therefore remains, but to correct, confirm, or illuſtrate what has been already written; and this cannot otherwiſe be done, than by comparing it with coeval monuments.

In this reſpect our antiquaries have laboured with a diligence beyond that of any other nation; and their endeavours have been attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that by ſome it may be thought, the ſubject is quite exhauſted. Nevertheleſs the hidden monuments daily brought to light ſufficiently convince us of the contrary; and that even the more conſpicuous ones have not been ſo carefully handled as they ought, the monument before us will ever be a ſtanding witneſs.

Antiquity is a vaſt ocean, itſelf known but to few, and it's bounds to none. The firſt adventurers on it have light upon golden mines and a richer coaſt: but their followers have likewiſe found the way to diſcoveries of equal benefit to mankind. The former have had greater opportunities and better fortune; but the attempts of the latter are far from being uſeleſs, nor are they perhaps leſs difficult.

The White Horſe is an antiquity of a claſs that had hitherto eſcaped the obſervation of the curious: ſo far from being taken notice of by our antiquaries, that it's exiſtence had in a manner been denied by [a] one of the greateſt character among them. Here then, without pretending to the skill and experience of other adventurers in this way, I flatter myſelf that I have ſteered a right courſe. And whether the diſcovery ſhall

[a] BERCHERIA *frumenti ferax, ubi in vallem ſubſidet, quam à neſcio qua* ALBI EQUI *forma in candicante colle imaginata,* The Vale of White Horſe *vocant.* Camden. Britannia in Attrebatiis.

be

be thought of any importance to the world or not; yet I cannot but look upon it as a piece of good fortune happening to myſelf.

At the ſame time I am prepared to meet with the common fate of travellers; to have my account for a while ſuſpected of romance: ſtill truſting that a little better acquaintance with things of this nature, the teſtimony of other travellers, and ſome new diſcovery, may by degrees wear off the air of improbability, if there is any, and reconcile the world to my opinion.

If there are any who can think ſo injuriouſly of this noble monument, as to conceive it to be wholly without deſign or meaning, the work of Shepherds, or other people of much leiſure, and little art; they ſhall enjoy their notions unmoleſted for me. It is not for ſuch that I undertake this ſecond task: but to remove the ſcruples of the learned and ingenuous; to anſwer the demands of thoſe friends, who think I have not been full and explicit enough: and in ſhort to give them, if poſſible, the ſame ſatisfaction which I have gained to myſelf.

Before I proceed let me beſpeak the reader's candid attention to what I am about. The concurrence of the learned is what, I ſuppoſe, every author ſets out with an expectation of; and if I fail in this, I only undergo the fate of thouſands. But ſhould it appear that I am in the right, I hope I may expect their thanks; and if in the wrong, not deſpair of their forgiveneſs. The difficulties I have to ſtruggle with, may juſtly plead for favourable allowances. Where Hiſtory is ſilent, and the monuments don't ſpeak for themſelves, demonſtration cannot be expected; but the utmoſt is conjecture ſupported by probability. If therefore any expreſſions have eſcaped me, which ſeem to foreſtal the readers judgment, and to pronounce too

perem-

peremptorily upon the age and meaning of the monument; they will be conſidered as words of courſe, and flowing from one, who was fully perſwaded of the truth of what he wrote, and as well ſatisfied almoſt, as if he had had demonſtration on his ſide.

Aſhdown. The firſt thing that came under conſideration in my former [a] eſſay, and upon which moſt of what followed neceſſarily depended, was the place where Alfred and his brother King Ethelred obtained a compleat victory over the Danes, A.D.871. Aſſer ſays it was at Æſcesdun, *Mons Fraxini*, or *Aſhdown*; a place well known in the Saxon times, but ſince hard to be diſcovered, nor univerſally agreed upon, by our Antiquaries. Talbot as I ſhewed from [b] Leland took it to be *Aſhdown Foreſt* in Suſſex; [c] Somner *Aſhdown* in Eſſex; but neither of theſe the too great diſtance from Reading, the head quarters of the Danes at that time, will admit of. [d] Biſhop Kennet once thought it to be *Aſhendon* in Buckinghamſhire, but mentions his opinion with ſo much diffidence, that it is plain, he intended to lay no great ſtreſs upon it: for he clearly ſaw, that from the progreſs of the Daniſh arms, it muſt be ſomewhere in Weſt-Sex. The Right Reverend and very learned editor of the [e] Saxon Annals, to whoſe authority no antiquary need be aſhamed to ſubſcribe, had before placed it at *Aſton* near Wallingford in Berkſhire; and this opinion has been followed by later writers.

Nothing beſides the neceſſity of purſuing truth, ſhall ever

a Letter to Dr Mead concerning ſome Antiquities in Berkſhire. Pag. 20.
b Joannis Lelandi Collectan. 8vo. Oxon. 1715. Vol. III. Pag. 194.
c Gloſſarium Anglo-Saxon. Fol. Oxon. 1659. in Voce Æſcesdune.
d Parochial Antiquities of Burceſter, Ambroſden &c. 4to. Oxford 1696. Pag. 35.
e See the Index of Places names at the End of the Saxon Annals.

pre-

prevail with me publickly to declare my diſſent from any author, much leſs from one of ſo great character, as his Lordſhip. But it was then and ſtill is my opinion, that the battel was fought not far from a town called *Aſhbury*, on the weſtern extremity of Berkſhire.

To ſupport this opinion, I ſhewed that the old name *Aſhdown* was ſtill preſerved in that neighbourhood by the tradition of Shepherds. That there was the ſeat of the Right Honourable the Lord Craven called in old writings *Aſhdown Park*. And that Aſhbury itſelf was formerly called *Aſhdown* in charters granted to Glaſtonbury Abby. The Leiger book of this monaſtery is now preſerved in the [a] Bodleian Library. The deeds relating to the ſeveral eſtates, are here very fairly regiſter'd under proper heads; and the book itſelf ſeems to be about Four hundred years old. Under the title *Aſhbury*, we find the firſt charter by me mentioned, of [b] Ethelwolph to Dundan, which

a MSS. Empt. ab Anton. a Wood N. 1.

b CARTA ATHELWOLPH FACTA DUNDAN MINISTRO SUO DE ATSHEDOUNE. *Regnante imperpetuo domino noſtro Jheſu Chriſto omnia ſpecioſa regna hujus labentis vite, regnorumque diſpenſatores cum velocitate deficiunt, & cuncta que videntur, caſſabunda & moritura ſunt; que hic non videntur, eterna ſunt; ideo caducis & vanis rebus jugiter manſura gaudia mercanda ſunt. Qua de re Ego Athelwolphus domino largiente Occidentalium Saxonum Rex pro unice anime mee & animum* [ſic f. peccaminum] *meorum remiſſione, aliquam agri partem, id eſt, Decem Caſſatos, in loco qui dicitur* AISSHEDOUNE *cum conſilio & licentia Epiſcoporum, ac Principum meorum* DUDAN [ſic] *miniſtro meo in jus proprium habendi & fruendi vita converte,* [ſic f. manente] *& poſt obitum illius qualicunque heredi, prout illi placeat, relinquendum, devota mente largitus ſum. Hancque libertatem in predicto Aſello* [f. Agello] *nos omnes unanimiter conſcripſimus atque donavimus, ut ab omnium fiſcalium tributum* [f. tributorum] *grandine,* [f. gravamine] *necnon paſtu Epiſcoporum, ſimulque Principum, & exactorum, & penalium rerum, & furis comprehenſione, & ab omnium ſecularium ſervitutum moleſtia ſecura & innumerus,* [f. immunis] *eternaliter permaneat. Scripta eſt hec cartula Anno ab Incarnatione* XPI DCCCXL. *Indiccione tercia in villa regali que appellatur Hamptone, hiis & conſencientibus & ſubſcribentibus quorum nomina prenotata cernentibus clare pateſcunt.* ✕ *Ego Athelwolph Rex predicta poſſeſſionem ſtatuta ſigno Crucis* XPI *ſic ſubſcribo.* ✕ *Ego Athelſtan Epſ conſenſi, ſigno Crucis ſic ſubſcribo. cum multis aliis.* Chartularium Monaſt. Glaſton. MS. Fol. 245. a.

becauſe

becauſe omitted in the Monaſticon I here give at the bottom of the page. It is dated as I obſerved before A. D. 840. and here is expreſs mention made of *Ayſhdoune*. The next is the charter of King Edred to Count Edric A. D. 947, publiſhed in the [a] Monaſticon, wherein is this clauſe, *Ubi vulgus priſca relatione vocitat* at Ayſhdoune. Therefore the name *Ayſhdoune* ſeems to have grown obſolete about this time, and to have given place to the more modern one of *Aſhbury*. And I am confirmed in this notion by another [b] charter of the ſame King Edred dated a few years later, viz. A.D.953, containing a grant to his ſervant Ælfſige and his wife Eadgiva, of certain lands æt Æſcerburuh. The above-mentioned lands of Edric were granted to the monaſtery by himſelf in the time of Dunſtan the Abbat. After theſe come other later deeds, in which the place is from thenceforth always called Aſhbury. To this evidence from charters I added the corroborating circumſtances of Camps and Barrows, and other funeral monuments in that neighbourhood, which I imagined would put the thing beyond diſpute. Notwithſtanding which, I deſire to be thought not at all bigotted to an opinion: but if any author ſhall diſcover another Aſhdown in Weſt-Sex, whoſe diſtance from Reading will correſpond with the hiſtory, and which will afford us any marks of a battle; I ſhall be content to give up this argument, with every thing that is built upon it.

Cuckhamſley Hill and Aſton.

There is one thing which ſeems to bear hard upon my hypotheſis, of Aſhbury being the place of battle; and that is it's ſituation with regard to Cuckhamſley Hill. It being ſaid in the Annals

[a] Monaſticon Anglicanum. Fol. Lond. 1661. Vol. 2. pag. 842.
[b] Cl. Humf. Wanley Catal. MSS. Saxonic. Fol. Oxon. 1703. p. 235.

under

under the year 1006. [a] *That the Danes came to Wallingford, and entirely deſtroyed that place, and from thence went along Aſhdown to Cwichelmes-Low*; now thought to be Cuckhamſley hill.

What is called in the Maps *Cuckhamſley Hill* is a large barrow ſtanding on a wide plain, overlooking the Vale of White Horſe, and in the midway between Wallingford and Aſhbury: by the Common people called *Cuchinſlow*, *Scuchinſlow*, and *Scuchamere*. This paſſage therefore ſeems to bring Aſhdown within a very narrow compaſs, (for Cuchinſlow is not above ſeven or eight miles from Wallingford) and it may be thought there could be no great difficulty in finding it. But if I ſhould enquire where it is, and ſhould be anſwered, at Aſton directly in the road between Wallingford and Cuchinſlow, I muſt take the liberty to ſay, I ſhould be as little ſatisfied, as If I had been told Blubery or any other town lying in the ſame direction. Aſton in ſhort has no pretenſion to be the place, beſides that of diſtance between theſe two points. For the name itſelf, I ſhewed, did not favour that opinion; *The Eaſt Town*, for it implies no more, being in ſignification as widely diſtant from *Aſhdown*, or *Aſh Hill*, as can well be imagined.

I take it for granted, becauſe I think it would be mere cavilling to diſpute it, that Æſceſdun mentioned in the foregoing paſſage of the Annals, is the ſame Æſceſdun where the battel was fought A. D. 871. And therefore think I had reaſon to doubt, whether Cpichelmeſ-leape could be the ſame place, which is now called *Cuchinſlow*. For though I grant it to agree very well with the Saxon name; yet if I ſhew Aſhdown to lie in the line beyond it; the Danes could not firſt paſs from Walling-

[a] And ſeſdon þa to Ƿealingaſoſda. ⁊ þet eall ſoſſpeldon. ⁊ ſændon him andlang Æſceſdune Cpichelmeſ-hlæpe geſohton. Chron. Saxon. 4to. Oxon. 1692. Pag. 135.

ford through Aſhdown, in their way to Cuchinſlow. We may ſometimes be miſtaken in comparing the new and old names of places. And though we can fix upon ſome places with tolerable certainty; yet we cannot anſwer for their diſtances agreeing with others, whoſe ſituation is leſs certain. I have produced authorities enough from books and monuments, to ſhew where Aſhdown lies, and where the battle was fought: and it was my unhappineſs rather than my fault, if I was not able to aſcertain the ſite of Ꞓpichelmeꝛ-leape; which is but once mentioned in the Annals and ſo leſs liable to be found out.

Whilſt I was under this uncertainty, [a] I ſuppoſed it to mean ſome town in North Wiltſhire or Glouceſterſhire, but am now obliged to retract this opinion, having found in [b] *Dr Hickes's Theſaurus* the record of a County Court held at Ꞓpichelmeꝛ-leape in the time of King Ethelred. The learned author indeed does not tell us in what County, but it appears to me from the names of towns mentioned in the record, that it could be no other than Berkſhire. If it could be ſhewn that any town ſtood formerly at Cuchinſlow, with a Church and Churchyard, for there [c] Sr William Dugdale tells us theſe County Courts were uſually held, there would be good reaſon to think, this was the place. Nor will I now deny it; not only the name ſo exactly anſwering to the old one; but no place being better ſituated for that purpoſe. And if there was no Town, perhaps Tents, Booths and other temporary expedients were uſed for ſhelter againſt the weather, during the time of Court.

a See the Letter to Dr Mead concerning ſome Antiquities &c. Pag. 20.

b Cemoꝛe æꝛ Cꝓichelmeꝛ-læꝓe &c. *Conventu ad Cwichelmes-læwam acto.* To determine a diſpute about ſome lands lying in Haccebuꝓna, Ꝟulꝼameꝓa, Bꝓaꝺanꝼelꝺa, Deccetꝛa, i.e. *Hagbourn, Wulmere, Bradfield and Dachet*, towns in Berkſhire. Cl. Hickes. Diſſ. Epiſt. ad D. Barthol. Shower. Pag. 5.

c See his book entitled *Origines Juridiciales.* Fol. Lond. 1671. p. 31, 32.

But

But though I allow *Cuchinſlow* to be the ancient Epichelmeſlæpe, yet no one can expect that I ſhould leave Aſhdown to ſhift for itſelf, whoſe ſite is in my opinion ſo much clearer. This is a difficulty no way to be got over, but either by ſuppoſing the above-mentioned paſſage in the Annals to be a little confuſed, which is frequently the caſe, and that it is capable of another meaning, than it ſeems to bear at firſt ſight; as that *The Danes leaving Wallingford*, traverſed the Vale, *and came to Aſhbury*, and then came back again, *along Aſhdown*, or the Rudge Way, *to Cuchinſlow*: or elſe by ſuppoſing that the Ridge of Hills between Wallingford and Cuchinſlow is likewiſe called Aſhdown; or laſtly by tranſpoſing the two names, and inſtead of ſaying they went through Aſhdown to Cuchinſlow, that they went from Cuchinſlow to Aſhdown; and then the difficulty vaniſhes at once. This is not improbable, ſince there is a battel mentioned immediately afterwards at Kennet in Wiltſhire, which is much nearer to Aſhdown than Cuchinſlow.

The White Horſe. When I firſt ſaw the White Horſe, I could not heſitate to pronounce it an antiquity of the Saxon age, tho' I was ſometime at a loſs for it's author; and muſt own, that I formed ſeveral conjectures, before I hit upon, what appeared to me to be the right. There were two of our [a] Saxon princes prior to Alfred, who might ſeem entitled to it, Cerdic the Weſt Saxon and Offa the Mercian.

Whoſoever ſhall chooſe the former of theſe, will have in my judgment greatly the diſadvantage; tho' the funeral monument juſt under the Horſe, which I attribute to the Pendragon ſlain by Cerdic, may at firſt ſight favour that opinion. The Horſe,

[a] Cerdic came into England A.D. 495. and died A.D. 534. Offa began his reign A.D. 755. and died A.D. 794. Annal. Saxon.

whatever ſome may think of it, is a monument too polite for that age, and that people. A people ſtrangers to good arts, juſt arrived from a barbarous country, can never be thought capable of deſigning a figure, that was to be ſurveyed at ſuch a diſtance, and is executed in ſuch a maſterly manner. And if they were able to draw the figure of an Horſe, however rudely in their banner, it is all the merit, I can prevail with myſelf to allow them.

Cerdic's character is that of a Souldier rough with war. He was in all probability the ſame enemy to civil Arts, as his contemporaries of the Northern hive, the Vandals. Theſe were not cultivated in his own country; nor could he learn them here, had he been deſirous of it, from a people ſunk perhaps into the ſame degree of barbarity with himſelf.

It will be no eaſy matter to find proofs to this purpoſe, from the cuſtoms of the firſt Saxons. Anniverſary or other feſtivals, ſuch as that of Scouring the Horſe, which I ſuppoſe to be in memory of a victory, could not well be inſtituted under unſettled ſtates, and Kings, whoſe whole buſineſs was to proceed on their conqueſts. Equally hard will it be, to produce a monument of the ſame kind, which has any pretence to be of this age, or near it. At leaſt I can recollect of their publick works, only funeral monuments for their great men ſlain in battel, and fortifications for the ſecurity of their troops.

All true politeneſs ſeems to have been buried with the Roman majeſty in this Iſle; nor can we trace any ſymptoms of it's revival, till the time of Ethelbert, and the coming of Auſtin the Monk; when a correſpondence with Italy, and the more ſouthern countries, naturally introduced an acquaintance with literature. The prevailing ſuperſtition of that, and the following ages, was ſo far from being a detriment to good arts, that they

they may be thought in great meaſure to have been kept alive by it. The genius or taſte of our Saxon princes and Nobles diſtinguiſhed itſelf by ſumptuous buildings, monaſteries and churches, with their ſeveral ornaments of pictures and images. And though the arts had then ſadly degenerated from the ancient Roman elegance, yet England ſhared no more than the common fate of all Europe: and in Offa's reign, a prince great both in arts and arms, it may ſeem to have vyed with the moſt polite countries, in producing the beſt maſters. Witneſs ſome of the coins of that King, which breath a ſpirit and deſign, vaſtly exceeding thoſe of his predeceſſors, and ſucceſſors in the Saxon line; and are no way inferiour to the beſt of his contemporaries.

This age, if I may be allowed to judge, bids much fairer than the former for the workmanſhip of the Horſe, and Hiſtory itſelf may ſeem to favour it. The author, whoever he was, quoted from an old book by [a] Mr Camden, tells us, *That after Kenwulf was overthrown, whatſoever lay under his juriſdiction from the town of Wallingford in the South part from Ickenild-ſtreet as far as Eſſebury* [*or Aſhbury*] *and in the North part as far as the River Thames, King Offa ſeized upon.* This fragment of hiſtory, I muſt own, made me once conjecture, that the Horſe was the work of Offa; and ſet up either as a Trophy of his Victory, or the boundary of his territories. The neighbourhood of Aſhbury may ſeem to countenance the latter opinion, as well as the town of Uffington, where he has left his name. But it could not well be deſigned for a Trophy, becauſe Kenwulph was overthrown at [b] Benſington in Oxfordſhire, ſome fif-

[a] See Mr Camden's Britannia in Berkſhire.

[b] Chronicon Saxonicum. 4to. Oxon. 1692. A. D. 785. Pag. 61.

teen

teen miles from this place: and perhaps a ditch or bank may be thought a more proper boundary, and more ſuited to the age of Offa: ſuch is that, I [a] mentioned before, beginning from Sagbury caſtle and running for ſeveral miles eaſtward, which in all likelyhood was made by him upon this occaſion. Beſides whoever conſiders the Horſe with attention, will I believe, rather ſuppoſe it deſigned to diſtinguiſh Saxons from ſome other people, than a mark of diſtinction between Saxons and Saxons, becauſe, I preſume, it was common to them all alike. And this leads me to enquire, what was the Saxon Arms or Standard.

The Saxon Standard a Horſe.

To prevent all occaſion of cavilling, it will be proper to premiſe, that I take the liberty of uſing the words *Standard* and *Arms* ſynonymouſly. The former, from being a neceſſary part of the military apparatus, having in my opinion as good a right to be called *Arms*, as thoſe inferiour badges, by which particular perſons choſe to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and their followers in time of war; and which by degrees became the marks of their reſpective families. I may add, that the Standard does not ſeem to have been leſs hereditary among princes, than modern arms among private gentlemen, nor to have been altered without ſome very good reaſon. As appears from the practice of all States, in their conſtant uſe of the ſame Standard through many generations.

The ancient Standards of all nations demanded a ſort of religious veneration; the [b] Device being commonly ſomething to

a See the Letter to Dr Mead concerning ſome Antiquities &c. Pag. 55.

b Nulla regio cui nihil inſignium ſaltem in ſignis militaribus. Et hæc cum publica eſſent, vel à tutelari regis numine, vel ab ANIMALI EI SACRO, *à re quapiam loci propria, aut cœptis auſpicanti, communive genio arridente deducebant, fore ſic ſibi ſecundius in prœliis rati.* Cl. Hen. Spelman. Aſpilogia Fol. Lond. 1654. Pag. 7.

which

which they paid a more than ordinary regard, and upon which they ſuperſtitiouſly depended in time of war. Hiſtory furniſhes us with nothing which the Germans held in greater veneration, next to their Gods, than their Sacred White Horſes. Theſe they believed to be the ſervants of their Gods; from theſe they drew their preſages of good and bad fortune, before they undertook any enterprize, as we are aſſured upon the teſtimony of [a] Tacitus, and [a] Saxo Grammaticus. And what better omen of Victory could they place at the head of their armies, than the Oracle which they conſulted in time of war?

It muſt here be obſerved, that *Saxony*, or *Saxland*, tho' it now ſignify only a part of the Empire, yet antiently comprehended the whole: and He whom we now call *Emperor of Germany*, was formerly ſtiled [b] *Keyſer* [or Cæſar] *of Saxland*; and that our Hiſtorians when they ſpeak of the Germans, make uſe of the term [c] *Old-Saxons*, perhaps in counterdiſtinction to the new Colony of that people planted in Britain.

From [d] Bede's account we may gather, that the General of theſe Old-Saxons, for they had no King, was in power not unlike the Roman Dictator. He was choſen from among the Nobles by lot, while the exigencies of their State required ſuch an Officer, but when thoſe ceaſed, he returned to his former ſtation. And therefore it cannot eaſily be preſumed that the

a See the quotations from theſe authors in the Letter to Dr Mead. Pag. 28, 29.

b Ðam Cajene oꝼ Sexlanꝺ. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1006. Se Kajene oꝼ Sexlanꝺ. Id. A. D. 1129.

c Ealꝺ-Seaxe i. e. *Antiqui Saxones, Eald-Saxones.* See Bede, Aſſer, Chron. Saxon. &c.

d Non enim habent Regem iidem Antiqui Saxones, ſed Satrapas plurimos ſuæ genti præpoſitos, qui ingruente belli articulo mittunt æqualiter ſortes, & quemcunque ſors oſtenderit, hunc tempore belli Ducem omnes ſequuntur, & huic obtemperant. Peracto autem bello, rurſum æqualis potentiæ omnes fiunt Satrapæ. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. V. c. 10.

General

General would take upon him to alter the National Standard at pleaſure.

Nevertheleſs if ſome perſons will ſtill without any grounds aſſert, that each chief choſe a different Standard, and that Hengiſt in particular choſe one in alluſion to his name; they muſt allow what has been conſtantly averred by the writers of the Saxon affairs, and was never yet denied by any one, that it was a Horſe: and moſt probable it is, that it was a White One; ſince Witikind the Great, whoſe pedigree all authors derive from Hengiſt, did without diſpute bear a White Horſe. This indeed he is ſaid by [a] Krantzius not to have done till after his converſion to Chriſtianity, having till that time born a Black One. But thoſe who are acquainted with the hiſtory of Armory, know very well, that it was the cuſtom of the Age when Krantzius wrote, as well as before, for authors to give reaſons for the ſeveral bearings of Arms, full of fancy and ſuperſtition; and to find a ſort of myſtical meaning in every Symbol. Witikind's baptiſm, was, as they very rightly judged, the moſt remarkable occurrence of his life; and therefore they ſeem to have adjuſted his Arms to that critical time. From theſe allegorizers it is, that the Story has ſince found place in hiſtory, from whence it has deſcended to Poets, and [b] Painters, and even to the [c] Civil Lawyers, where it has loſt nothing of it's former embelliſhments.

a Armorum inſignia, quæ militaribus, ut fit, ſignis præferebat, PULLUM EQUINUM *habebat* ATRUM: *ſed placuit regi* [Witichindo] *poſtquam de tenebris gentilium errorum pervenit in Lucem Veritatis, ut* CANDIDUM *acciperet, eaque vetuſtiſſima Saxoniæ Arma.* Alb. Krantzius Saxonia Lib. II. c. 24.

b Amongſt the Paintings in the Royal Palace at Turin, Witichind is repreſented receiving the White Horſe in a Shield, from his Godfather Charles the Great.

c Hujus Equi colorem Witikindo poſt receptum baptiſma Carolus non ſolum mutavit, ſed & nomen aliud impoſuit. Pro Atro enim Equo Album in campo rubro abſque frenis & ephippio ſalientem conceſſit, nec amplius priſco nomine Ludgerum, ſed Witikindum appellari voluit, ut ex ſacro renatus fonte,

That the White Horſe then was Witikind's Badge, I can readily allow; but that he bore it as the badge of his Chriſtianity, I can by no means believe; becauſe, as [a] I ſhewed before, the inhabitants of the Iſle of Rugen, which was [b] part of Witikind's territories, for ſome centuries after his death, preſerved the old cuſtom, of preſaging by a White Horſe. 'Tis true their religion was a mixture of Paganiſm and Chriſtianity, but to which of the two this cuſtom ought to be referred, it is eaſy enough to determine.

We cannot be at a loſs for the poſture of Witikind's Horſe, tho' perhaps with ſome little variation; becauſe it has been ſo religiouſly preſerved in the Arms of his deſcendants. The Counts of Oldenburg bear it quarterly; the Elector of Cologne bears it as the mark of Weſtphalia; the preſent Royal Family of Great Britain, has reſtored it to our Arms, as Dukes of Brunſwick; and the Dukes of Brunſwick Wolphenbuttle have transferred it from their Shield to the place of the Creſt. Theſe all bear the White Horſe current from the ſiniſter part of the ſhield; but the Houſe of Savoy from the dexter part, and in a

te, omni ex parte Candidus eſſet. Theod. Hoepingius De Armorum priſco & novo jure. Fol. Noriberg. 1642. Cap. VI. §. 698. Pag. 342. *Nigro hunc colore primitus à Saxoniæ Ducibus delatum fuiſſe, omnes perhibent, ut indicent ſcilicet fortiſſimos & animoſiſſimos bellatores eſſe, qui difficillime frenum jugumque admittant. Inveniuntur enim Nigri Equi nulla alba nota inſigniti, ac fere indomiti, quibus ad generoſum animum & freni impatientem ſignificandum Pulli Nigri præ ſpadicibus & glaucis, (qui nigredinem albedini admixtam habent, ita tamen ut nigredo ſuperet, & ob id domitu faciliores) digmate commodior haberi non potuit teſſera. Hunc ita acceptum Carolus Magnus Saxones domans, ac Chriſtianæ fidei ſacris initians, in Album convertit, quo oſtenderet, ſe pervicacem ſuperbiam & effrenem licentiam, qua perpetuo recalcitrabant, nec rectorem ferebant, moderari velle: ſic tamen ut generoſum animum & ejus ſymbolum retinerent, ſed mutato colore temperatiores ac faciliores ad regendum ſe pollicerentur.* Idem. Pag. 343.

a Saxo Grammat. Hiſt. Danica Fol. Soræ. 1644. Lib. XIV.

b Witichindus ob rerum geſtarum celebritatem MAGNUS cognominatus, Rex Saxonum Dux Angariæ, Princeps Rugiæ, *& Dynaſta Ilenburgi.* Eliæ Reuſneri Genealogia inclyti ſtemmatis Witichindei. Fol. Jenæ. 1597.

poſture ſomething more erect than the others. Whence this difference of bearing the Horſe aroſe, is not eaſily accounted for, but in the oldeſt picture which I have ſeen of Witikind, given us by [a] one who profeſſedly wrote his life, he bears both the Black and White Horſe current from the dexter part, as in our monument.

Whoſoever conſiders the Saxon White Horſe, as deſcribed in theſe Arms [b] running at liberty, and without any marks of reſtraint, will find no difficulty in believing it to be the very ſame with the Sacred White Horſe of the Germans deſcribed by Tacitus.

The only queſtion then with me is, When this White Horſe ceaſed to be the Standard of our Saxon anceſtors? For tho' they came over hither in different parties, yet I am as much perſwaded that all the deſcendants of Woden at that time bore the White Horse; as that the ſeveral families abovementioned, who derive their pedigrees from Witikind, bear it at preſent. That of the Counts of Oldenburg excepted, which I think is extinct.

Authors I know have given each of the Seven Kingdoms a different banner, but I fear upon no very good grounds, and which may be juſtified from antiquity. Authentick hiſtory I may venture to ſay is not ſo particular as to give us the difference. It is more reaſonable to think, that tho' they might have ſeveral devices in their ſubordinate banners, yet the White Horſe was the principal cogniſance of the Saxons, as the Eagle was of the Romans. If it will be thought, that a different ban-

[a] Elias Reuſner. Geneal. Inclyt. ſtem. Witichind. as above. See likewiſe Nicol. Reuſner. Icones Impp. &c. Saxon. cum elogiis. Fol. Jenæ. 1597.

[b] *Aluntur in nemoribus Equi — Candidi & nullo mortali opere contacti.* Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum.

ner

EQVVS WITIKINDEVS.

p.616.

Comes Oldenburgicus.
Spener Hist Insig.

p.589.

Coloniensis Archiepiscopus.
Spener Hist Insig.

Mag. Brit. Rex.

p.397.

Brunsvic. Guelph. Dux.
Spener Hist Insig.

p.328.

Sabaudiæ Dux.
Ashm. Gart. p.714.

ner was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh each prince from his enemy during the wars among themſelves: I anſwer that each banner might be ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed without injury to the main figure, or White Horſe. And the Colour of the Field for inſtance, the moſt glaring diſtinction, may be diverſified more than enough for the whole Heptarchy. Whoſoever contended for ſovereignty over the others, and this was the occaſion of moſt of their wars, would not eaſily quit his pretenſions to the original Saxon Arms: and the Weſt Saxons in particular, to whom the reſt at laſt ſubmitted, had the beſt title to them, notwithſtanding what later authors have been pleaſed to ſay to the contrary.

When therefore we find the Horſe, or, if you pleaſe, the White Horſe, to have been the banner of the Ancient Saxons: that it was particularly brought into Britain by the firſt Saxon Generals who came over hither: that it continued to be the banner of Saxony with thoſe who were left behind: and was uſed by their ſucceeding Generals, Dukes or Kings, as they were afterwards called; and we have no reaſon to think it was diſcontinued in England: When we diſcover moreover, in the known territories of the Weſt Saxon Kings, the Monument of a Horſe, which [a] tradition has conſtantly called a White one; formed

[a] A learned writer to whoſe judgment and candour I muſt always acknowledge myſelf in a particular manner indebted, has furniſhed me with the following remark. *Whatever opinion the reader may entertain of it's* [The White Horſe] *original; it is certainly a work of great antiquity. In an Age, when neither ſuch works, nor enquiries concerning them were produced; it is mentioned, as a well known monument; as is evident from the following record, for which I am beholden to a perſon* [Mr. George Holmes] *whoſe friendſhip I ſhall ever honour and eſteem.*

Oxon } *Clauſ.* 42. *E.* 3. *m.* 6. *dorſo.*
Berks }
Gerard de L'Iſle tient en la Vale de WHITE HORSE 1. *Fee.*

Anſwer to a Scandalous Libel entitled, The impertinence and impoſture of modern Antiquaries diſplay'd &c. 4to. Lond. 1740.

after

after ſuch a manner, as ſhews it was intended for a ſignal, very remarkable and viſible, to the neighbouring country; and which is allowed by all true antiquaries to be inconteſtably of the Saxon Age: what can we conclude from all this, but that the White Horſe was the banner or arms of the Weſt Saxon Kingdom? This then is the opinion, which I have deliberately embraced; nor do intend to relinquiſh, but upon better reaſons, than have as yet been brought againſt it.

The Device of the Banner commonly allotted to the Weſt Saxon Kingdom is a Dragon; which, I preſume, is founded entirely upon what Henry Huntingdon has related of King Cuthred in his war with Ethelbald the Mercian A. D. 752; where it is ſaid, [a] *Ethelhun that Kings Standardbearer*, ſo he is pleaſed to call him, *bore the Golden Dragon as his enſign at the battle of Burford:* a punctilio which our ancient Saxon Annaliſts, who delighted in ſimplicity and plain narration, always omit; and which would never have been inſerted, but by one who thought a battle could not well be deſcribed without it. Henry Huntingdon is an author to be read with caution; [b] he often

a Ethelhun præcedens Weſtſexenſes, regis inſigne, DRACONEM *ſcilicet* AUREUM, *gerens, tranſforavit vexilliferum hoſtilem.* H. Huntingdon. Hiſt. Lib. IV. Pag. 341.

b For this I ſhall give you a much better authority than my own, namely that of Mr Milton. *Hitherto,* ſays he, *has been collected, what there is of certainty, with circumſtance of time and place, to be found regiſter'd, and no more than barely regiſter'd in Annals of beſt note; without deſcribing after* Huntingdon, *the manner of thoſe battles and encounters, which thoſe who compare and can judge of books, may be confident he never found any current author he had to follow.* Hiſt. of England. 4to. Lond. 1670. A.D. 527. *Yet from hence to the Daniſh invaſion it will be worſe with us deſtitute of Bede. Left to obſcure and blockiſh Chronicles, whom* Malmsbury *and* Huntingdon (*for neither they than we had better authorities of thoſe times*) *ambitious to adorn the Hiſtory, make no ſcruple oftimes, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and ſurmiſes of their own.* Idem A. D. 731. And concerning this very fight between Ethelbald and Cuthred; *Huntingdon,* ſays he, *as his manner is to comment upon the Annal Text makes a terrible deſcription of that fight between Cuthred and Ethelbald, and the proweſs of Ethelhun, but ſo affectedly, and therefore ſuſpiciouſly, that I hold it not worth rehearſal.* Id. Pag. 175.

uſes

uſes a poetical licenſe of embelliſhing his ſubject according to his own fancy, without the leaſt warrant from the Saxon Annals, from whence he copies. As this is notorious to every one who reads him; ſo it occaſions matter of wonder to me, that Antiquaries of great name ſhould in this caſe allow ſo much weight to his ſingle teſtimony. Whereas I can eaſily bear with ſome others of a lower claſs, who have run headlong into a diſcuſſion of this queſtion, without pretending to know any thing more of the matter, than what they have borrowed from modern authorities, and this too at ſecond hand.

The Dragon was the Standard of the Parthians, Dacians, and Scythians, as well as of the [a] Romans; but it can with no manner of certainty be ſaid to have been uſed in England, till after the Norman Conqueſt. And if we may be permitted to follow the opinion of the moſt learned and judicious [b] antiquary of the French nation, The Dragon belonged to our Engliſh Kings, as being the hereditary badge of the Dukes of Normandy. At the latter end of the Twelfth Century, when Huntingdon wrote, we have reaſon to think it was a Royal Banner, ſince then it is [c] ſaid to have been uſed by our Kings in their wars with the infidels: and this, I am inclined to think, was Huntingdon's only reaſon for allotting it to Cuthred.

Though it may be a queſtion, when, and by whom, our Horſe on the Hill was made; yet that it was deſigned to repreſent *The Kings Arms*, I believe moſt people are by this time convinced;

a Mutæ Signa ſunt Aquilæ, Dracones. Veget. de Re Militari &c. Lib. III. Cap. 5.

b Du Freſne Gloſſar. Med. & Infim. Latinitatis. Fol. Lut. 1678. Vol. 2. p. 175.

c Regium illud apud Anglos Vexillum Draconis habens cum capite aureo effigiem, quod vicinis expertum, & paganis ſub Ricardo I. in ultramarinis gentibus terribile fuit. Mr Camden quotes this paſſage from Gervaſius Tilburienſis MS. See the Britannia in Cornwal. And Du Freſne in his Gloſſary more correctly under the word DRACO.

Per-

and thoſe who are not, I muſt leave at their liberty, to think what elſe they pleaſe of it.

When the White Horſe ceaſed to be the Saxon Standard.

Perhaps it would go a good way towards determining the diſpute; if we could, as I before obſerved, diſcover, when the White Horſe ceaſed to be the Saxon Standard. Here authors are ſilent, and the truth is not to be come at, but by Conjecture at preſent. In this uncertainty, though I may expoſe myſelf once more to the laſh of my enemies, yet I ſhall not be afraid to give my opinion, that the reign of Alfred was the very time.

Though it might be an innovation of ſome importance; yet when we conſider the many publick regulations, which that prince made for the better in our laws and cuſtoms. In the forms of judicature; in the methods of [a] diſciplining the Souldiery and Artificers; we ſhall find no reign more likely for ſuch a change than this. To which when we add his ſingular piety, and ſuperſtitious regard for relicks, according to the cuſtom of that age; no one can think it unlikely that he ſhould lay aſide the old pagan device, or White Horſe, and aſſume that of the Croſs. That the Croſs was King Alfred's Arms, I find aſſerted by [b] perſons whoſe authority I dare not queſtion. And to af-

a Interea tamen Rex inter bella & præſentis vitæ frequentia impedimenta, nec non Paganorum infeſtationes, & quotidianas corporis infirmitates, & regni gubernacula regere, & omnem venandi artem agere; aurifices & artifices ſuos omnes, & falconarios, & accipitrarios, canicularios quoque docere; & ædificia ſupra omnem anteceſſorum ſuorum conſuetudinem venerabiliora & pretioſiora nova ſua machinatione facere &c. Aſſer Annal. Rer. Geſt. Ælf. pag. 43.

b See a MS. Roll in the Library of Corpus Chriſti College Oxon. ſigned by Sr Gilbert Dethyck Garter, and the other Kings of Arms; 7. E. 6. which gives him a Croſs Fitcheé. And in a MS. of Mr Brian Twyne's in the Univerſity Archives, I find this note. *King Alfred's Arms ſent unto me out of Ireland, by Mr Uſher. He beareth Azure a Croſs Patee Or.* ✠ Twyne MS. Antiquar. ℵ. Pag. 240.

firm

firm that it belonged to any of his predeceſſors, I find no authority upon which I can ſafely depend.

The reader will obſerve, that I take one thing for granted, which indeed cannot be ſo clearly demonſtrated, viz. That the Croſs immediately ſucceeded in the room of the Horſe. But this liberty I hope our Heralds will indulge me in, till they can find ſomething which has a better pretence to it's place. At what time it began to be received, ſeems in truth the only queſtion. Shall we ſay that each of the Saxon Princes took it immediately upon his converſion to Chriſtianity? Then it was not univerſally received at one time, becauſe they were not all converted at once: ſo that this determines nothing. But there is good reaſon to think, it was not then the practice, at leaſt here in England, to model the Standard ſo exactly to their faith. However fond they might be of the religion which they had juſt embraced, I will undertake to prove they were as much attached to their ancient lineage; and to diſcard the White Horſe, would have been little leſs, than renouncing their Saxon deſcent. Let us form a judgment of what they might have done in this caſe, from the behaviour of their kinſmen in Old Saxony; becauſe, it may be preſumed, they both had the ſame cuſtoms. Witikind thought his ancient badge no bar to his Chriſtianity; becauſe he is ſaid to have born the White Horſe after his converſion: and I will venture to ſay, before too; without ſpending time to confute thoſe, who can believe he ever bore a Black One.

Egbert the Weſt-Saxon, who lived ſome time after Witikind, is the [a] firſt, who is expreſsly ſaid to have born the Croſs. The reaſon of converſion cannot be urged in his caſe, becauſe he

[a] See the quotation below from Nicolas Upton De Off. Milit.

was bred a Chriſtian, nor can I find any other reaſon from the whole hiſtory of his life. Whether it was his buſineſs to unite the Seven kingdoms under one Banner, will admit of a diſpute; but it could be neither intereſt nor policy in him to alter the old one: which I muſt ſtill believe to have been the White Horſe, and ſhall be obliged to any one, who can inform me better.

Ethelwolph, his ſon and ſucceſſor, may with much more reaſon be thought to have made the alteration: becauſe in his time, an army of infidels, who had only appeared upon the coaſts in the reign of his father, had now gained a ſettlement in the Iſland, tho' their conqueſts were not yet arrived to any great height. The good correſpondence which this [a] King maintained with the Court of Rome, from whence the change may be thought to have proceeded, will afford us another argument in his favour. But ſtill I cannot perſwade myſelf, that the Croſs was received in his lifetime, but that it was reſerved for one of his ſucceſſors. The reigns of his three eldeſt ſons were ſhort, and full of troubles; and perhaps gave no leiſure for things of this ſort. But the fourth, and moſt active of them all, cannot but be thought the moſt likely perſon to make the alteration, becauſe no King of England before him ever had the like reaſon.

The Danes in his time began not only to be formidable to the natives in general; but the Weſt Saxon Kingdom itſelf was entirely overrun by them. Then it was, that the piety of King

[a] *Romæ quoque omni anno magnam pro anima ſua pecuniam, id eſt, Trecentas Mancuſſas, portare præcepit, quæ taliter dividerentur: ſcilicet Centum Mancuſſas in honorem S. Petri; centum Mancuſſas in honorem S. Pauli; centum quoque Mancuſſas univerſali Papæ Apoſtolico.* Aſſer. Pag. 13. He is ſaid beſides to have made more than one journey to Rome, and to have ſtaid there a whole year at one time. A.D. 855.

Alfred

Alfred firſt taught his ſubjects to pique themſelves upon their profeſſion; and this in order to obtain ſucceſs againſt their enemies. We may obſerve, that though the Saxon Annals, and other writers, call that people Danes, from the time of their firſt arrival in England; yet his own [a] hiſtorian as he generally calls the Saxons Chriſtians, ſo he gives the Danes no other name than that of Pagans; which could hardly happen without deſign. That religion was the main thing in diſpute between them, appears further from Alfred's behaviour to the Danes after they were worſted. For we find him willing to come to the eaſieſt terms with them, provided only that they would receive the Chriſtian faith: as in the caſe of [b] King Guthrum, and his nobles. This indeed was in effect to bring them off inſenſibly from their barbarous and brutal cuſtoms; to perſwade them to live under a more orderly rule, and to qualify themſelves for being incorporated with the Saxons. So that here in England was an *Holy War* in the beſt ſenſe of the word, earlier by above two hundred years than the firſt Cruſade; and begun by that prince upon no idle motive; but upon the nobleſt principles, the defence of his own ſubjects, and the converſion of his enemies. And if we judge from the like inſtances, we muſt believe that all the preparations for the war had regard to the chief point; and that the Standard in particular was adapted to the occaſion.

[a] Aſſer Menevenſis Annales rerum geſtarum Ælfredi Magni.

[b] *Nec non & Godrum rex eorum Chriſtianitatem ſubire, & baptiſmum ſub manu Ælfredi regis accipere promiſit: quæ omnia ille & ſui, ut promiſerant, impleverunt. Nam poſt hebdomadas ſeptem, Godrum Paganorum rex cum Triginta electiſſimis de exercitu ſuo Viris ad Ælfred regem prope Æthelingæg, in loco qui dicitur Alre pervenit, quem Ælfred Rex in filium adoptionis ſibi ſuſcipiens, de fonte ſacro baptiſmatis elevavit; cujus Chriſmatis ſolutio octavo die in villa regia quæ dicitur Wædmór fuit: qui poſtquam baptizatus fuit duodecim noctibus cum rege manſit; cui rex cum ſuis omnibus multa & optima ædificia largitus eſt.* Aſſer. Pag. 34, 35.

If I might be permitted to be a little more exact as to time; I would ſay that the alteration of the banner began in the year 883, the time of King Alfred's [a] receiving from Pope Marinus or Martin II, that part of our Saviour's Croſs, which he afterwards [b] repoſited in Glaſtonbury Abbey. And perhaps authors who have wrote of Heraldry have often had no better grounds for their aſſertions.

That it was not unuſual at that time of day for Princes and States to change their old banner, for a new one of the Pope's recommending, is pretty plain from the inſtance of the Bulgarians. [c] Theſe applied to Pope Nicholas I. who ſate in the chair from A.D. 858, to A.D. 867. for a proper banner in the room of their old one, or the *Horſe's Tail*; and received for anſwer, *What Enſign ought ye to bear, but the Sign of the Holy Croſs? — This is that enſign of our faith, which Chriſtian Princes always make uſe of in their neceſſities, and by which Kings profeſſing the true religion often gain with Chriſt's aſſiſtance remarkable victories over their enemies.* Nothing can be more exactly ſuited to King Alfred's circumſtances than this paſſage: and if he applied in the ſame manner to the Pope, we can-

a *Qui etiam* [Marinus] *multa dona prædicto regi illa vice tranſmiſit, inter quæ dedit non parvam illius SANCTISSIMÆ AC VENERABILISSIMÆ CRUCIS partem, in qua Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus pro univerſali hominum ſalute pependit.* Aſſer. Pag. 39.

b *Alfredus ſive Aluredus dedit partem de Ligno Domini.* Monaſticon Anglic. Vol. I. Pag. 10.

c *Quando prælium inire ſoliti eratis, indicatis vos hactenus in ſigno militari CAUDAM EQUI portaſſe, & ſciſcitamini quid nunc vice illius portare debeatis. Quid aliud utique niſi ſignum SANCTÆ CRUCIS? Ipſum eſt enim quo Moyſes mare diviſit, & Amalec interfecit; quo Gedeon Madianitas ſuperavit; & Chriſtus Dominus noſter Diabolum, qui habebat mortis imperium, non ſolum ſuperavit, ſed proſtravit. Ipſum eſt ſignum quod portamus in frontibus noſtris: ipſo à cunctis defendimur hoſtibus, & ab omnibus munimur incurſionibus. Hoc eſt ſignum Fidei, & ingens horror diaboli, quo Chriſtiani principes in neceſſitatibus ſuis ſemper utuntur, & reges veram religionem ſectantes, ſæpe celebres Chriſto propitio triumphos de hoſtibus operantur.* Nicolai I. Reſponſa ad Conſulta Bulgarorum. Artic. 33. Vide CONCILIA. Par. 1644. Tom. XXII. Pag. 455.

not

not but conclude that he likewiſe received the ſame anſwer. Perhaps it may add ſome weight to this argument, when it is remembred, that Marinus himſelf, before he came to the Popedom, was the very perſon [a] employed on this occaſion by Nicholas I. to negotiate affairs with the Bulgarians.

King Alfred came behind none of his contemporaries in his compliments to the Holy See, and had particular [b] reaſons for ſo doing. Beſides the tribute, which his Father had made payable to Rome from the Weſt-Saxon kingdom; we find him the ſame year in which he received that relick of the Croſs, [c] ſending thither a preſent or *Alms*, as it is there called, *which he had vowed*; and 'tis remarked under that year, that *affairs ſucceeded proſperouſly with him after the performance of his vows*. This Preſent ſeems to have been continued for ſeveral years after, being mentioned A.D. 887, 888, 890, and as a particular piece of reſpect, it is ſaid to have been carried by perſons of note and diſtinction, whoſe names are likewiſe recorded. Vows are commonly made by perſons in diſtreſs, and performed upon extraordinary deliverances; and this was often the caſe of that Prince. As this account of performing his vows, immediately follows that of receiving the relick, it may juſtly be thought to bear ſome relation to it. And if he attributed an extraordinary virtue to the relick, as from his known [d] practice, we

a Baronii Annales Eccleſiaſtici. Moguntiæ 1601. Tom. XI. Pag. 366.

b *Leo Papa IV. Apoſtolicæ ſedi præerat, qui præfatum infantem Ælfredum oppido ordinans unxit in Regem, & in filium adoptionis ſibimet accipiens confirmavit.* Aſſer. p. 7.

c DCCCLXXXIII. Marinus mæna Papa ſende þa Lignum Domini Ælfrede cyninge. And þy ilcan geare lædde Sighelm. ⁊ Æþelſtan þa ælmeſſan to Rome. þe Ælfred cing gehet ðiðeð. and eac to Sce Ðome. ⁊ to Sce Bartholomee. Ða hi ſæton pið þone hepe æt Lundene ⁊ hi fæſ Godes ſancte ſyþþe bentigde pæſon æfter þam gehatum. Annal. Saxon. Pag. 86, 87.

d *Erat ſedulus ſanctorum locorum viſitator etiam ab infantia orandi & eleemoſynam dandi gratia.* —— *Sæpiſſime galli cantu & matutinis horis clam conſurgens, eccleſias & RELIQUIAS SAN-*

have all the reaſon in the world to think he did; we can hardly doubt, but in imitation of other Chriſtian Princes, he then, if ever, firſt took the Croſs for his Banner.

That there was any real virtue in the relick, I will not pretend to ſay; but the new banner, if it was ſuch, may be thought to have given new life to the Souldiery. For Alfred during the remainder of his reign came off conqueror in almoſt every engagement. Under this Prince, who was the reſtorer of the Saxon valour by land, and the founder of the Nation's power by Sea, I ſuppoſe, the Croſs became the badge of the Fleet, as well as of the Army; and is ſtill preſerved in the preſent cogniſance of the Royal Navy. For I think it would be derogating from the ancient honour of the Britiſh Flag, to derive it's original from any other monarch.

The Croſs the Arms of the Weſt-Saxon Monarchs.

The learned [a] Sr Henry Spelman will not allow that any of our Saxon Kings had Arms ſtrictly ſpeaking, and as they are commonly depicted on a Shield. And very juſtly finds fault with our Heralds, for deſcribing them in the uſual terms of Blazonry. But yet he allows, becauſe it cannot be denied, that they had a [b] Banner in time of war. And that the figure in the banner muſt have been pourtrayed

SANCTORUM orandi cauſa viſitabat, ibique diu proſtratus orabat. Aſſer. Annal. Rer. Geſt. Ælfr. pag. 40, 41. *Necnon ſacramentum in omnibus RELIQUIIS, QUIBUS ILLE REX MAXIME POST DOMINUM CONFIDEBAT, juravit.* Idem. pag. 28.

a Repetunt Danicorum, Anglo-Saxonum, Britannorumque regum arma abſoluta ſpecioſa ſerie paſſim edita. Commentum plane omnino otioſum, aut veterum Heraldorum, aut quod forte magis arrideat monachorum. Qui, (ut Hiſtriones & Pictores ſolent) antiquorum pro ætatis ſuæ ritu effingentes clypeos item inſtructiſſimos cuique addiderunt. D. Henr. Spelman. Aſpilogia. Fol. Lond. 1654. Pag. 41.

b Signa procul dubio militaria, quæ in acie ordines ſequerentur, vel regibus noſtris veterrimis deſuiſſe non eſt cogitandum. Hoc evicit militaris ipſa neceſſitas, etiam Bedæ authoritas. Idem ibid.

upon

upon ſome Ground, is altogether conſiſtent with reaſon, and rules of art; and This is what we call the Field in an eſcutcheon. Though therefore he had reaſon to deny our Saxon Kings Arms in the modern acceptation of the word, and tho' he could find upon ſtone monuments nothing of this ſort, ſo old as thoſe times; Yet, I preſume, had he been aware that ſuch a monument as that of the Horſe, would have been afterward diſcovered, he would readily have allowed it to be the Arms or Banner of the Weſt-Saxon kingdom.

[a] Nicolas Upton one of our oldeſt heraldick writers, from whom moſt of the moderns have borrowed what they ſay on this ſubject, has given our moſt ancient [b] Kings, and ſome whoſe names are only to be met with in fabulous hiſtory, their reſpective Arms. For which reaſon, though, I own, his authority bears but little weight with me in matters of ſuch diſtant antiquity, yet in the caſe before us, I think he has proceeded with caution and judgment. He does not indeed give the leaſt hint about the Saxon Horſe; That was too far removed from his enquiry; but he ſeems by ſome means or other to have diſcovered, that the Croſs belonged to our Weſt-Saxon

a Nicolaus Uppodunus, juris conſultus, Cæſarum ac Pontificum Romanorum decreta exquiſita excuticbat, ed:ſcebat, induſtria; tandemque Severianæ & Fontanæ factus eccleſiæ canonicus, ad ſcribendum animum appulit. Erat tunc temporis in pretio Hunfridus Dux Claudianus, literatorum decus plane maximum, cui & Uppodunus eruditionis nomine gratus. Cliens igitur juſtam gratulandi patrono quærens occaſionem, concinnavit libros quatuor de Re Militari & Factis illuſtribus, quorum qui ultimus eſt, de Inſignibus Anglorum Nobilium tractat. Jo. Leland. de Script. Britan. 8vo. Oxon. 1709. Pag. 444.

b BRUTUS portavit Unum Leonem rubeum pedetantem in campo Aureo. ALBANACT Unum Leonem Rubeum rapacem in campo aureo. CAMBER Duos Leones rubeos facies ſuas ad terga vertentes in campo argenteo. BELINUS Tres coronas aureas in campo Azorio. UTER Duos Dracones virides, Coronis rubeis coronatos, Terga ad invicem vertentes in Campo aureo. CADWALLADER portavit in numeris ſuis Unam Crucem Patentem Figitivam auream campo Azorio. Nic. Upton. De Offic. Milit. Fol. Lond. 1654. Lib. IV. pag. 126, 127, 128.

Mo-

Monarchs, and therefore, with propriety, as he thought, [a] attributed it to Egbert their founder. He calls it *Azure a Croſs Fleureè Or.* But regard muſt be had to the time in which he wrote, when Armory was become a learned ſcience, whereas it had ſcarce a being in the Saxon times. Thoſe numberleſs diſtinctions of Croſſes and Fields, being the product of later ages, the fruits of Cruſades.

Theſe Arms according to Upton, were born by all the ſucceſſors of Egbert down to Edward the Confeſſor, when he tells us, an alteration was made in them; and this is the addition of four or five birds to the Croſs, for which he [b] gives but an indifferent reaſon. But the learned Knight before-mentioned is unwilling to agree with him in this point, and ſeems to ſay [c] the falſifyers ſtole this notion from the coins of that Prince. Yet if Princes have varied the national banner, as they have

a Egbertus portavit UNAM CRUCEM FLORIDAM IN CAMPO ASORIO; Que Arma erant continuata & portata per omnes Reges ſequentes uſque ad tempora Sancti Edwardi Confeſſoris. Nic. Upton de Officio Militari. Fol. Lond. 1654. Lib. IV. Pag. 128.

b Edwardus Confeſſor portavit in Armis ſuis UNAM CRUCEM FLORIDAM IN CAMPO AZORIO, & quia ſpoliatus antea fuerat per Danos, aſſumpſit QUINQUE MERULOS AUREOS, portans eos ſine pedibus: quia vocabatur ipſe, Edwardus ſine Terra, *quare portavit dictos merulos ſine pedibus.* Nic. Upton de Off. Mil. pag. 129.

c Sed extant audio Saxonicorum Regum Arma antiquo opere: Clypeus cyaneus Cruce Florida Quinque inter Apodes ex auro. *Saxonum revera hunc nulli erexit Antiquitas, quin Divo quem vocant Edwardo, eorum ultimo. Cui nec ſua negabo Arma, cum is in Normannia diu verſaretur. — Veruntamen & hic in ſuſpicionem veniant fallaces iſti, utpote Scutum iſtud ex argenteis ejus nummis effinxiſſe. Habent enim nummi ſui inter Aves quatuor bacillos totidem ſe invicem inſtar Crucis diſſecantes, ut ex ſubjecta Icone.* D. H. Spel. Aſpil. pag. 42. — *Alites autem vides non Apodes ſed Antipodes eſſe. Et adjungam, nuſquam locorum Edwardi ævum referentium (ſi omnem antiquitatem, templa, caſtra, monumenta, rudera, perluſtraveris) reperiri credo, neque arma iſta, nec armorum quidpiam. Certe ejus tempeſtatis reliquiæ, ne ſimplicis Scuti, (quam unquam viderim, etiam data opera) effigiem admittunt. Ne nummi quidem, ne illuſtrium Saxonum tumuli elegantes, ne ipſius Edwardi Sigillum Regium, ne ſepulcrum ejus ſumptu magnifico magiſtraque manu denuo reſtauratum. Forte hoc idem alius affirmaverit de ætatibus Will. I. & II. ſed nos id modeſtius & abſtinenter.* Idem.

ever

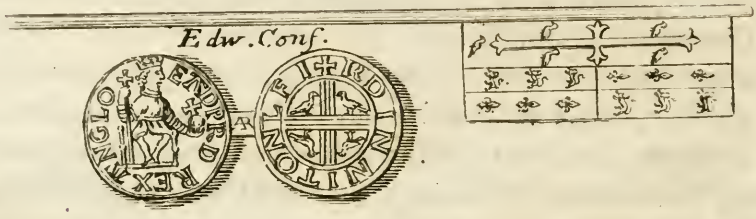
ever done at particular times, and for particular reaſons; it cannot be thought improbable, that the Confeſſor, in whoſe time many of our cuſtoms began to be changed, ſhould make the above-mentioned addition. For the notion of theſe being his Arms, could not eaſily be paſſed upon the people, had there not been ſome grounds for it. And beſides if it was a forgery, it muſt have begun in a dark age, when perhaps the wiſeſt were ſcarce able to diſtinguiſh the Confeſſors money, from that of his predeceſſors.

The preſent learned [a] Garter King of Arms has proved beyond diſpute, that it was between three and four hundred years ago the common perſwaſion, not only among vulgar perſons, but princes themſelves, that the Croſs and Blackbirds, Martlets, or Doves, as they are called by different writers, were the Arms of the Confeſſor. He has ſhewn from our Hiſtorians how King Richard the Second came to chooſe the Confeſſor for his tutelar ſaint, in his expedition againſt the Iriſh; and for that purpoſe to add the Arms of that Prince to his own. He has likewiſe produced an authentick voucher for the truth of this ſtory from the tomb of Sr Simon Felbrige Standard bearer to Richard the Second, on which is the banner fairly engraved, and agreeably to this account of the hiſtorians; the Croſs and Five Martlets being empaled with the

a Froiſſart tells us Vol. 4. pag. 181. That the Iriſh had great reverence and dread of Edward the Confeſſor, whereof K. Richard II. receiving information, did upon his expedition into that Country leave off the uſage of the Leopards, and the Fleurs de Lis, and took the Arms of that Saint, viz. A Croſs Potencee L'Or & de Gules, a quatre Colombs blanc, *which induced the Iriſh to ſubmit to him.* J. Anſtis Eſq. Regiſter of the Garter. 2 Vol. Fol. Lond. 1724. Vol. 2. Pag. 175. But the Chronicle of Melroſs, which he quotes likewiſe, ſays, he only added the Confeſſor's Arms to his own. *Et adderet Scuto ſuo Arma S. Edwardi.* Chron. Melroſs de Ferali Parliamento inter MSS. Will. Petyt Int. Templ. See likewiſe Walſingham. Hiſt. A.D. 1398. Pag. 355. The learned author himſelf blazons the Conſeſſor's Arms thus: *Azure, a Croſs Fleurée Or, between Five Martlets of the Second.*

Arms of England. I would therefore beg leave to invert the argument; and inſtead of proving the Arms to be a forgery taken from the money; I would only prove that this was the Confeſſor's money, becauſe it has been the conſtant tradition that the Croſs and Birds were his Arms.

S^r. Simon Felbrigge Banner.



Thus much, and perhaps more than enough, concerning the Croſs of the Weſt-Saxons. It may now be expected, that I give a particular deſcription of it, as it was born before the time of Edward the Confeſſor; and this, I think, I am able to do from an authentick monument.

Whiteleaf Croſs in Buckinghamſhire.

Whiteleaf Croſs in Buckinghamſhire, ſo called from the hamlet of Whiteleaf in the pariſh of Monks-Risborough, is an antiquity of the ſame kind with the White Horſe; being formed after the ſame manner, on the ſide of an high and ſteep chalky hill facing the South Weſt. The perpendicular line of the Croſs is near 100 feet in length, and about 50 in breadth at the bottom, but decreaſing upwards till it ſcarce exceeds 20 at top. The tranſverſe line is about 70 feet in length, and twelve in breadth and the Trench cut into the chalk is about two or three feet deep. It is formed beſides upon a large Baſis, whoſe

height

W. Greene Jun.r delin. 10 G. Vertue Sculp

CRVX SAXONICA.

W. Greene Jun.r delin.

G. Virtue Sculp.

Viro amicissimo BROWNI WILLIS *Arm. Antiquario*

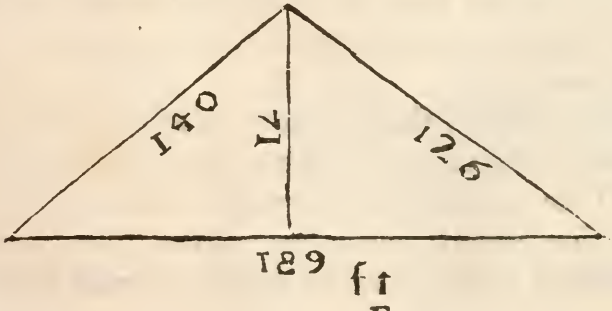
Ad instaurandum Buckinghamia *Suæ decus antiquum*

Tibula *Votiva*.

height ſeems to be almoſt equal to the perpendicular line, with a proportionable breadth, being therefore much more viſible than the Croſs itſelf, and of great uſe to the eye in catching the view at any conſiderable diſtance. The common people have learned to call this Baſe *The Globe*, but I think improperly, it's form approaching nearer to that of a Triangle, as the reader may ſee in the draught. In one reſpect the Croſs may ſeem to have the advantage of the Horſe, in that it is viſible at a greater diſtance, for I ſuppoſe it may be ſeen, from the White Horſe hill itſelf, there being nothing, that I could obſerve to obſtruct the proſpect. Which diſtance if computed upon the ſtrait Ickle way, which runs under both of them, may for ought I know, amount to near thirty miles.

Though the Croſs is in no more danger of being totally obliterated, than the Horſe, yet the like cuſtom prevails of Scouring it up with a Feſtival; but this has of late years obſerved no regular revolution. The common people ſtill preſerve ſome imperfect traditions concerning contributions raiſed upon this occaſion, and even from ſome of the Colleges in Oxford. But if any eſtates have been formerly charged with the expence, time has long ſince made void the obligation: and the ſcour-

a Since I wrote this I received from an ingenious friend, the juſt Dimenſions of the Baſis accurately taken by himſelf, according to the following Diagram.



ing is performed at the expence of the neighbourhood, but never without a merry making.

From this ſimilitude of fabrick and cuſtom, I think we may reaſonably conclude, that both are the work of the ſame age, I had almoſt ſaid of the ſame hands. They likewiſe ſeem to give a mutual light into the authors of each other. The Horſe cannot but be attributed to Saxons; nor the Croſs to any but Chriſtian Saxons; and both of pretty near the ſame times. That the deſign and meaning of each was the ſame, is clear from their ſituation. And whoſoever can find in either of them, any thing more or leſs than the Banner or Arms of England, will have better ſucceſs than I can pretend to have met with after all my reſearches.

That the device of the Standard carried with it an omen of victory it were needleſs further to prove; as well as that no Trophy more proper could be ſet up, to ſhew which party were conquerors. The Horſe therefore denotes a victory gained by the Saxons over ſome other people; as the Croſs ſome action in which the Chriſtians prevailed over the Pagans: and ſince Hiſtory began, if we except the Saxons themſelves we ſhall find none of the latter in this Iſland beſide the Danes.

Whatever may be the fate of the Horſe; it is undeniable that the Croſs was both an omen and a cuſtomary emblem of victory, as appears from the coins and other monuments of Chriſtian Emperors and Kings down from the time of Conſtantine the Great.

It is not ſo difficult then to prove this Croſs to be a Trophy, as by whom it was ſet up; at what time; and upon what occaſion. If I am conſiſtent with myſelf, I cannot fix it's antiquity higher than Alfred, nor ſo low as Edward the Confeſſor. I would willingly aſcribe it to the former, provided hiſtory could bear

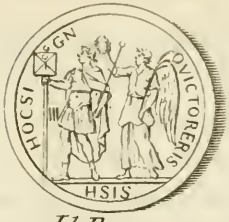
CRVX VICTORIALIS

CONSTANTINVS M.

Du Cange Fam. Byz. P. 21.

Idem Pag. 27.

CONSTANTIVS



Id. Pag. 29.

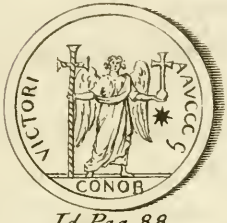
VALENTINIANVS

Id. Pag. 54.

THEODOSIVS IVN.

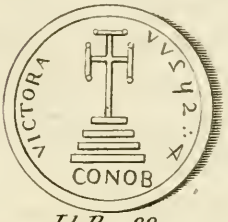
Id. Pag: 65.

IVSTINVS



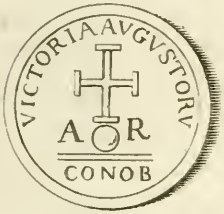
Id. Pag. 88.

IVSTINIANVS



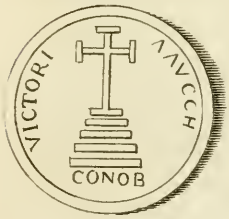
Id. Pag. 88.

IVSTINVS IVN



Id. Pag. 90.

TIBERIVS CONST.

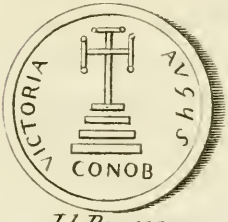


Id. Pag. 102.

HERACLIVS

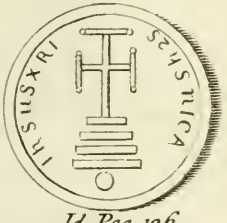
Id. Pag. 112.

LEO ISAVRVS



Id. Pag. 123.

FL. LEO. *ob. 911.*



Id. Pag. 136.

AVDVLFIVS

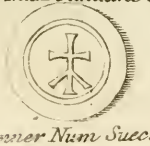
D. And. Fountaine Tab. 3.

LOTHARIVS

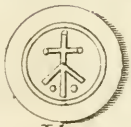
Le Blanc Pag. 62.

DAGOBERTVS

Id. Pag. 78.

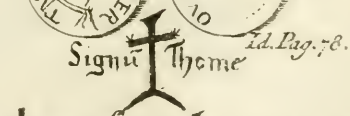


Brenner Num Suec.



Idem

Idem



Cl. Hickes Diss. Epist. Pag. 71.

bear me out a little in the conjecture; and at the loweſt eſtimation, think my ſelf obliged to ſet it as high as his Son and ſucceſſor Edward the Elder.

After the death of King Guthrum, which happened A.D.890, the Danes encouraged by receiving freſh ſupplies of their countrymen, contrary to their faith and engagements, returned to their old trade of plundering and harraſſing the country; taking their opportunities, while the King was employed in defending the Sea coaſts, to ravage the Weſt-Saxon and Mercian Kingdoms. And though they now and then paid dear for their perfidy, yet they could not eaſily be hindered from doing much miſchief, as they had their fortified places, where they might ſecure themſelves and their prey at their return. And as the Saxon forces were divided, each Kingdom raiſing an army to oppoſe them, as often as they were attacked; and if they had the good fortune to rout them, perhaps ſeldom purſuing them beyond their own territories; the Danes could not but remain long uncontrouled, though we find them ſometimes venturing out a great many miles from their Head quarters. In the year 905 we [a] read of their marching through the Mercian Kingdom as far as Cricklade in Wiltſhire, which belonged to the Weſt-Saxons. In the year 921, they are ſaid to have carried off a great many priſoners, and a vaſt booty of cattle between Ailesbury and Bernwood foreſt in Buckinghamſhire, which extended almoſt to Oxford. That the Saxons might be provided againſt theſe ſudden inroads, it was neceſſary for them to have fortified places upon their great roads; and the remains of one of theſe appears at Princes Risborough juſt under the Croſs, which the common people now call the *Black Princes palace.* And for my

[a] Chronicon Saxonicum. 4to. Oxon. 1692. Pag. 101.

own

own part, I make no doubt, but the Croſs was made in memory of ſome victory gained by the troops quartered at this place. There is a village about a mile or two from it, which ſeems to point out the very ſpot on which the battel was fought: *Bledelawe* or *Bledlow* for that is the name of it, implying the *Bloudy Hill*. We have an inſtance exactly parallel to this, in the name of a village and down in Somerſetſhire called [a] *Bledon* and *Bledon Down* i. e. *Bloudy Down*, from a great ſlaughter of the Danes, in King Ethelwolphs reign, A. D. 845.

From the accounts which are left us of the life and reign of Edward the Elder, we may collect that they came not much ſhort of his fathers in martial atchievements; and that they deſerved to be tranſmitted to us in a much better manner than we find them. It was the fault of the hiſtorians of that age curſorily to run over ſome of the moſt remarkable events. After a battle has been related, we are now and then, unable to find out which party gained the advantage. Sometimes we are hurried from one action to another, without proper notice of time intervening. Nay there are two ſet battles of this reign mentioned without the circumſtance of place, which certainly ought never to be omitted. The one A.D. 911, when the Northumbrian Danes taking advantage of the Kings being in Kent, invaded the Mercian Kingdom; but he ſoon raiſed an army of Mercians and Weſt-Saxons, whom he ordered out againſt them, and the Danes in their return were overtaken by them; when a battle enſued, wherein two Daniſh Kings Eowils and Halfdene, with ſeveral nobles, and many thouſands of common men were ſlain, and the army entirely routed. The Saxon Annals, as I ſaid, do not mark out the place, but

[a] See the Notes to *A Compleat Hiſtory of England.* Fol. Lond. 1706. Vol. I. pag. 53.

[a] Ethel-

[a] Ethelward an old hiſtorian, tho' ſomething later than the Annaliſt, tells us it was at Wodnesfeld; but where to look for that place I know not. The other battle was in the year 905, when, as I mentioned before, the Eaſt Angle Danes penetrated through the Mercian into the Weſt-Saxon Kingdom as far as Cricklade and Bredon foreſt, plundering and ravaging the country. In the mean time King Edward, as ſoon as he could get his army together, purſued them, and in requital as he marched, ſpoiled the Eaſt Angle territories that lay between the Dike and the Ouſe in Northamptonſhire, ſtill directing his march after them; but being deſerted by the Kentiſh men, if I underſtand the ſtory right, unwilling perhaps to follow him ſo far from their own home, preſently after, but where it is not ſaid, the Saxons were ſurrounded by the Daniſh army, I ſuppoſe, in their return, and conſequently forced to fight at a great diſadvantage. In this battle the Saxons loſt a great number of men, and the Danes a greater; tho' the latter kept the field of battel; ſo that it can hardly be called a victory on the ſide of the Saxons. Yet what might make it equivalent to a victory, was not only the death of Eoric the Daniſh King and ſome of his nobles, but Æthelwald Ætheling, King Edward's Couſin german, who had ſet himſelf up for King of the Weſt-Saxons, and to ſupport himſelf the better, had inſtigated the Danes to this revolt, was there likewiſe ſlain, and an end put to his rebellion.

Whether this battle was fought at Bledlow, I ſhall leave to the diſquiſition of others; but muſt obſerve, that Bledlow lies in the Danes rout homewards from Bredon foreſt to the Eaſt Angles, and upon a great Roman road too, which it may be

[a] Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores poſt Bedam à D. Henr. Savile editi. Fol. Francof. 1601. Pag. 848.

preſumed they generally choſe for the more ſpeedy and eaſy marching of their troops; and that the Saxons, if they had been more beaten than they ſeem to have been, might eaſily retreat from thence to their faſtneſs at Prince's Risborough, and ſtill look upon themſelves as Conquerors.

The Coin of Audulfus.

I am aware of one objection, which perhaps might have been overlooked by others, that may be made againſt all I have ſaid; and this is, that the Croſs appears to have been uſed by the Saxons for a trophy long before the times of Alfred and Edward the elder. Among the Saxon [a] coins we find one with this inſcription VICTVRIA ADVLFO, and the figure of the Croſs plainly deſigned for a banner or trophy. The profeſſed maſters of this learning have aſcribed the coin to Aldwulphus King of the Eaſt Angles, of whom little more is remarked, than that he began his reign A.D. 665, and died 683. It may be thought preſumption in me to diſpute a point, wherein the learned ſeem to be ſo well agreed; but I cannot help ſaying, that I neither believe the coin to be of that age, nor of this nation. It is a queſtion too long to be diſcuſſed in this place, whether we had any minted money ſo early as that time, at leaſt of that form in which the Saxon money commonly appears. [b] Mr Camden indeed tells us, that the oldeſt coins which he had ſeen, were of Ethelbert the firſt Chriſtian King of Kent; but neither has he himſelf given us any of that prince, nor Mr Speed, who more particularly made it his buſineſs, and had beſides the aſſiſtance of Sr Robert Cotton and other able antiquaries of that time; nor have later

a Speed's Chronicle. Fol. Lond. 1611. Pag. 310. Mr Walker's account of the Saxon Coins in the new edition of the Britannia. Tab. V. 20. Sr Andrew Fountain's Saxon Coins at the end of Dr Hickes's Theſaurus. Fol. Oxon. 1703.

b Remains concerning Britain. 4to. Lond. 1614. Pag. 200.

anti-

antiquaries with all their diligence met with any better ſucceſs. If we examine this coin more narrowly, we ſhall find it very different from other Saxon coins; among all thoſe given us by the learned Sr Andrew Fountaine, there being not one like it, either as to the emblem, or the Legend. The name of the King as it is inſcribed on the coin, ſcarce agrees with itſelf, and not at all with the Hiſtorians. For though ADVLFVS, with the broad A, if it is ſuch, may be allowed to be the ſame as AVDVLFVS; yet it can never mean ALDVLFVS, becauſe there is ſo material a letter omitted, and that not by miſtake of the mintmaſter, as, from the word occurring twice, we may be pretty well aſſured. Beſides if it was deſigned for a Saxon Prince, perhaps it would have been wrote EALDVVLFVS: and ſome affinity with the Saxon character might have been expected. From the money of Lotharius King of France, who reigned A.D.584. and from thoſe of Dagobert A.D.628, with the ſame legend, VICTVRIA HLOTARII, VICTVRIA DAGOBERTO. the coin may rather ſeem to be of that age and nation, or of ſome Lombard King whoſe name has not had the good fortune to be preſerved in hiſtory. Unleſs perhaps it may be ſtill older, and be thought to have been ſtruck by ATVLFVS, the ſucceſſor of Alaric, a civilized Goth, who married Placidia the Emperor Honorius's ſiſter. [a] Jornandes calls him ATAVVLFVS, [b] Paulus Diaconus ATAVLFVS, which I ſuppoſe to be the antiquated ſpelling of ADVLFVS or ADOLPHVS. The way of writing VICTVRIA for VICTORIA may well be derived from the Goths, if it was not otherwiſe common to all nations of that age; for we find on the coins of Baduela, FLEYREAS ZEM-

a Regnumque Attulfo ejus [Alarici] *conſanguineo & formæ & mente conſpicuo tradunt.* Jornandes de Rebus Geticis.

b Paul. Diacon. Hiſt. Miſcel. Lib. XIII.

PER inſtead of FLOREAS SEMPER. On the head ſide of Mr Speed's coin are the letters FRISIN. which [a] Mr Walker has made PRISIN. and which Sr Andrew Fountaine therefore owns were unintelligible to him. But had he followed Mr Speeds reading, I doubt not, but he would with me have taken it for FRISINGA or FRISINGVM, if that word was uſed ſo anciently for *Friſingen* in Germany, which I preſume was under the dominion of Ataulfus at that time. It was uſual with the Goths in Spain, as well as the Franks, to inſcribe the name of the town, where the money was minted; of which we may find a great many examples in [b] Le Blanc.

The Altar of the Croſs.

I juſt mentioned before the Baſe on which the Croſs is erected, and that it's form came near to that of a Triangle. This is an eſſential part of the monument, and, I think, ought to be called the *Altar of the Croſs*. The common people indeed know no other name for it than *The Globe*, nor do I doubt their veracity in adhering to what they have been taught to call it; though, I fear, not by the firſt authors of the monument. It is a point of no very great conſequence, whether it be a Globe or an Altar, becauſe both are exhibited on monuments of the moſt early times; and the appearance it bears, is the only reaſon with me for calling it by the latter name. It will be more to our purpoſe briefly to ſhew the relation, which both the one and the other bear to the Croſs; and the analogy between the Croſs itſelf and Victory.

The Goddeſs of Victory whoſe image was ſet up in many parts of heathen Rome, had perhaps more honours and devotion paid to her, than any other deity of the Romans, as they were in a continual ſtate of war with ſome one or other people,

[a] See the Saxon Coins in the new Edition of the Britannia. Tab.V.

[b] Traite Hiſtorique des Monnoyes de France. 4to. à Amſterdam. 1692 Pag. 59, 60.

that

that bordered upon that vaſt empire. But when [a] Conſtantine after his victory over Maxentius, had aſcribed the whole ſucceſs to our Saviour's Croſs, the credit of the Goddeſs began to decline, and after ſeveral efforts to retrieve it, at laſt was entirely ſunk. The Croſs by degrees became entitled to all her honours and privileges: and the Souldiers learnt to put an entire confidence in it, as appears from their uſual [b] ſhout at the onſet of battle VICTORIA CRVCIS!

The Goddeſs of Victory was moſt commonly painted with wings, and ſtanding ſometimes on a Globe, at other times on an Altar; which is the reaſon, why we ſee both the Globe and the Altar ſurmounted by the Croſs. We may remember what [c] heats were raiſed in the fourth century, about the Altar of Victory, alternately removed and reſtored, by five or ſix Emperors ſucceeding each other. The firſt removal was under Conſtans the ſon of Conſtantine, the father perhaps finding it too difficult a task to aboliſh all the monuments of Pagan ſuperſtition at once. And this ſeems to be the true reaſon, why, as a late excellent [d] writer obſerves, his religion is ſo hard to be determined from his coins. For though he really attributed his own ſucceſs to the efficacy of the Croſs, yet we frequently find him on his money, holding in one hand the old Pagan deity, a winged Victory, and in the other the banner of the Croſs; as if he deſigned a ſort of compromiſe between the Votaries of each.

a Euſebius De Vita Conſtant. Lib. III. Cap. 28, 29.

b *Cum vero jam ad conflictationem movet exercitus, conſueta Chriſtianis vox uſurpanda eſt,* Νικητήριον τῶ Σταυρῶ. Leonis Imperatoris Tactica. à Meurſio edita. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1612. Cap. XII. Pag. 155.

c S. Ambroſii Opera. Fol. Pariſiis. 1690. Tom. II. Pag. 828, 829, &c.

d Mr Addiſons Dialogues upon ancient Medals. See his Works 4to. Lond. 1721. Vol. I. pag. 537.

The

The Altar of Victory was of a Cylindrical form, adorned with feſtoons and bas reliefs, if we may form our notions from that draught of it given us by [a] Montfaucon from Maffeus. But the Altar of the Croſs was of a plainer figure, and more adapted to the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian profeſſion. It is commonly expreſſed by a flight of ſteps gradually decreaſing towards the top, on which the Croſs is erected. It's uſe began at the declenſion of the arts; and therefore it muſt be reckoned the fault of the age, where it is deſcribed in no very juſt perſpective view; as in our Monument; on ſome of the coins of the northern nations; and in ſubſcriptions to ancient charters, where it has been ſtill more haſtily and rudely delineated.

Other Monuments of the ſame kind.

Theſe two monuments, than which perhaps no country can ſhew two more remarkable, are now, with ſome juſtice I hope, reſtored to our Saxon anceſtors: the manner of their fabrick ſeeming to be peculiar to the times I have been ſpeaking of. And if antiquaries would direct their enquiries this way, probably they would find no reaſon to repent of their labour; tho' no more of this ſort and of the ſame antiquity have come within my obſervation. I ſay of this ſort, and of the ſame antiquity: for it would be a manifeſt affront to common ſenſe, to put Theſe upon the ſame level with ſome others, which at beſt can be called only pitiful imitations of ſuch excellent originals. For I muſt inſiſt upon it, that theſe are no vulgar works, but made by publick authority.

And here the magnificence of our Saxon princes diſplays itſelf to the greateſt advantage; as it is a magnificence tempered with frugality. To erect Trophies, at ſo trifling an ex-

[a] Montfaucon Antiquité Expliquée. Fol. Lut. 1719. Vol. 1. Pag. 344.

pence,

pence, which ſhould continue to be witneſſes of their actions, freſh and viſible, at the diſtance of ſo many miles, and ſo many ages! What more, if indeed ſo much, could have been done, by erecting the moſt coſtly edifices?

As for thoſe leſſer works of ſhepherds and others, to all but the ignorant they are ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by their meanneſs; being cut upon downs and plains, where their employment led them, without regard to ſoil or ſituation, and ſcarce ever to be ſurveyed at a diſtance. There are indeed ſome of a middle claſs, which have gained a name, and by novices in the ſtudy of antiquity have been placed in the ſame rank with our Horſe and Croſs: therefore to beſtow a ſentence or two upon them, cannot be thought foreign to my preſent purpoſe.

The White Horſe of Bratton-Caſtle in Wiltſhire.

There is a monument of this kind, which I once imagined would have confirmed my opinion beyond all poſſibility of doubt; though I had the mortification afterwards to find myſelf diſappointed. In the neighbourhood of Edingdon in Wiltſhire, the place where Alfred gained the ſecond moſt remarkable victory of his life, is a White Horſe cut on the ſide of an high and ſteep hill, and under a large Roman fortification called Bratton-Caſtle, from the neighbouring town of Bratton: ſo that in this reſpect 'tis not unlike the Berkſhire Horſe. Bratton Caſtle is likewiſe the very place, whither, as [a] antiquaries agree, Alfred after the battle purſued Guthrum the Daniſh King, and after a ſiege of fourteen days brought him to ſurrender: and this was another ſtrong reaſon for referring it to the time of that prince. Notwithſtanding which I muſt give my readers a caution about it. For did not

[a] See the Additions to the Britannia in Wiltſhire.

the

the fabrick diſcover it to be modern, yet the inhabitants of Weſtbury, a borough town about a mile from it, who made it, and inſtituted a revel or feſtival thereupon, might inform them as much; it having been wrought within the memory of perſons now living, or but very lately dead. Yet ſtill I think it may deſerve the enquiry of others, who have more leiſure than myſelf; How the common people came to be ſo fortunate in their choice of the ground? and whether the authors of it had not preſerved the tradition of ſome older Horſe, now obliterated; and of ſome more ancient feſtival now forgot?

The Giant of Cerne-Abbey in Dorſetſhire.

In the pariſh of Cerne-Abbey in Dorſetſhire is the figure of a Giant, cut on a ſidelong hill, but not to be ſeen at any great diſtance. This, though it may be of ſome antiquity, yet cannot lay claim to any thing like that of the Horſe or Croſs. I had not time to examine the tradition concerning it, which is fabulous, nor could I learn, that it uſed to be ſcoured up with a feſtival like the former. I thought it not proper to paſs it by without mentioning it; but ſhall not endeavour at it's meaning, leſt I may be thought to invade the province of a gentleman, who, as I hear, has undertaken to to write the hiſtory and antiquities of that county.

The Red Horſe of Warwickſhire.

The Red Horſe is a monument of much greater note than the two laſt mentioned, [a] as giving name to a Vale in Warwickſhire:

[a] *Within the precinct of that mannour of Tiſhoe now belonging to the Earl of Northampton (but anciently to the family of Staffford as I have ſhewed) there is cut upon the ſide of Edg-Hill the proportion of a Horſe in a very large forme; which by reaſon of the ruddy colour of the earth is called the Red Horſe, and giveth denomination to that fruitful and pleaſant country there abouts, commonly called* THE VALE OF RED HORSE: *The trenches of which ground where the ſhape of the ſaid Horſe is ſo cut out, being yearly ſcoured by a Free-holder in this Lordſhip, who holds certain lands there by that ſervice.* Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire. Lond. 1656. Pag. 422.

but

but this is not of the ſame extent with the Berkſhire Vale, nor is it's name, or the antiquity of it, ſo univerſally acknowledged. The Horſe itſelf is vaſtly inferiour in every reſpect; in it's deſign, dimenſions, fabrick, and ſituation: being hardly viſible at a diſtance. The whole betrays itſelf, to be the work of a later age, and more rude workmen: and I can readily join with [a] Mr Camden, in allowing it to be made by the country people, and not by publick authority. However, I am perſwaded, it is not without it's meaning: which, ſince no body has hitherto thought it worth while, I will now endeavour to explain.

I think it then, as I ſaid before, to be the work of a private perſon: that perſon, whoſoever he was, I take to have been ſome retainer to S[r] Richard Nevil, the ſtout Earl of Warwick, ſo famous in our Engliſh hiſtory during the diſputes between the two Houſes of Lancaſter and York, whoſe caſtle ſtands at about nine or ten miles diſtance, facing the Hill on which the Horſe is cut: and that the Horſe was made in memory of the bloudieſt battle ever fought between the two houſes; wherein the Earl of Warwick had the greateſt ſhare, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by killing his own Horſe juſt before the engagement, declaring himſelf determined to die or conquer. This battle was fought at Towton in Yorkſhire, upon Palm Sunday A.D. 1461; and is called by our [b] hiſtorians *Towton Field*, or *Palm-Sunday Field*. The feſtival of ſcouring this Horſe, which, the reader will perceive, has given occaſion to all this conjecture, is celebrated by a vaſt concourſe of people from the neighbouring towns, annually upon Palm Sunday:

a Britannia in Warwickſhire.

b Hollingshead's Hiſtory of England. Fol. Lond. 1587. Vol. 2. Pag. 664. Stow's Annals of England. 4to. Lond. 1601. Pag. 690.

and the Red-Horſe-farm, which is ſaid to be charged with the expence of ſcouring it, is now in the poſſeſſion of the R^t Honourable James Earl of Northampton.

Whether the name, Red Horſe, bore any alluſion to the colour of Earl Nevil's Horſe, I will not venture to ſay, though even that is not improbable. For any thing that now appears, it was taken from the colour of the ſoil: and had that happened to be black, the Horſe muſt have been called a Black one. But whoſoever ſhall give himſelf the trouble to think a little upon this ſubject, will, I believe, agree with me that the colour would hardly have been mentioned at all, but to diſtinguiſh it from another Horſe that was in being before it. The Red Horſe together with it's anceſtor the White one, have indeed been the unlucky occaſion of much errour; tho' neither of them has any thing to anſwer for upon that account. For if from hence any perſons have entertained an idle conceit, that Horſes are the patrons of Vales, I hope this will not be laid to the charge of the monuments, or their authors: nor that others have conceived, becauſe the Red Horſe was denominated from the ſoil, that therefore the White one muſt have been ſo too; for we ſee there was not the ſame reaſon for one as the other. And beſides it is unnatural for Engliſhmen to make uſe of two words, where one is enough for the purpoſe. Thus, while there was only one in being, the terms *Horſe* and *Vale of the Horſe*, would have been ſufficient, had there not been a neceſſity for adding the colour. The Giant at Cerne is never, that I could learn, called the White Giant, nor Whiteleaf Croſs, the White Croſs; whereas if the colour of the ſoil, was the only reaſon for the epithet, they are as much entitled to it as the Horſe. In ſhort if there is any weight in what I have urged before, the Berkſhire monument was deſigned

ſigned to perpetuate a White Horſe, the figure in the Royal Banner, and tradition would have been injurious to it, in omitting the colour. Thoſe who ſtill doubt of the truth of this, may be further convinced, if they pleaſe, from a very obvious and familiar inſtance: for this is the reaſon, why a Horſe of that colour, rather than of any other, is one of the moſt ancient and common Signs, hung out at Inns and houſes of publick entertainment in this Kingdom. Of a later date, I preſume, is the Croſs; and ſtill later, the Lions of Normandy. Theſe all preſerve their ſeveral places on Signpoſts, but it is owing to an Ignorance of their original meaning, that they have not in their turns been ſupplanted one by the other, nor all together extruded by the more modern Arms of England.

Cuſtoms of the Daniſh times.

Cuſtoms of unknown antiquity inſtituted to perpetuate certain facts, are a ſort of demonſtration that ſuch facts really happened, or at leaſt were believed to have happened. And though in ſome caſes time has worn out all memory of the fact, yet we are morally certain, that ſomething was intended to be commemorated by the cuſtom. Of this ſort is the feſtival of ſcouring the White Horſe, which I lay ſome ſtreſs upon, as a thing that may afford a light to the monument. This is an additional advantage, which the reign of Alfred is poſſeſſed of, having beſides all the pretenſions of the reigns of Cerdic and Offa. I believe no one will undertake to ſhew any ſimilar cuſtoms, begun in that of the former; and if there are any of the latter, they have not yet come to my knowledge. There might be anniverſary or other periodical commemorations of Saints, Martyrs, and conſecrated places, according to the uſage of the Church; but this before us is plainly of civil inſtitution, and as far as I can judge, begun in memory of a victory.

If we may refer the commencement of this cuſtom to the time, when we are well aſſured ſuch rites were moſt common and in vogue, nor can I tell where to meet with better light in this caſe; we muſt go back to that period ſo often mentioned, inglorious to the Saxon name, and not to be remembred by Engliſhmen without horrour. A Period, the tranſactions of which, were they not ſo well atteſted, would ſeem the moſt incredible part of our hiſtory. When the Danes perpetrated ſuch a ſcene of villany here, as is ſcarce to be paralleſ'd in the ſtories of the moſt ſavage nations.

The miſeries which the Saxons underwent at that time, awaken'd them too late from their lethargy. They found, the common enemy had taken advantage of their diviſions, and in leſs than a century were got to a head, almoſt too powerful to be oppoſed, by the united force of the whole kingdom. We may well ſuppoſe, that reſort was made, as in the like publick calamities, firſt to the divine power. Prayers and [a] days of humiliation were appointed, to deprecate God's vengeance, and avert the impending deſtruction. Providence had indeed ſent them, in the perſon of Alfred, a prince, by whoſe vigilance and activity they were able to make ſome ſtand againſt them; but the deſpair he was almoſt driven to, ſhewed the neceſſity there was, of applying to ſomething elſe beſides human means.

The reigns of Alfred and Edward the Elder, ſtopt the progreſs of their fury for a while; but ſeveral parts of the Iſland, not immediately under their protection, were harraſſed at the

[a] In the reign of King Ethelred, when the Daniſh inſolence was at it's greateſt height, we find a remarkable ſermon preached to the Saxons upon a Faſt-day, A.D. 1004, by one Biſhop Lupus; which according to Mr Wanley is the Latin name of Wolſtan, or Wolſſtan, Biſhop of Worceſter. See Dr Hickes's Diſſ. Epiſt. ad D. Barth. Shower, in the Theſaurus Ling. Septent. Pag. 99.

ſame

ſame time with all the circumſtances of barbarity. Neither of theſe princes, we may be aſſured, was wanting to animate his ſubjects, by all laudable arts of government; to unite their diviſions, quicken the publick ſpirit, and rouſe their valour. And what expedient more effectual could be deviſed, than that of a publick rejoicing upon every ſucceſs of their arms?

That this was then the reigning policy, though hiſtory does not ſpeak out, is not only probable from the practice of ſucceeding ages, but is confirmed by ſeveral cuſtoms, and appellations, which tradition has handed down to us, and which in the judgment of our beſt antiquaries can plainly belong to no other times. No advantage which the Saxons obtained over theſe enemies, whether in battle or otherwiſe, ſeems to have been left unrecorded. They were particularly induſtrious in giving new names to places, denoting where every ſuch advantage was gained: and theſe continue to this day, tho' the ſeveral actions have been for many hundred years forgot. Thus the learned [a] Spelman obſerves, that near Brancaſter on the ſea coaſt of Norfolk are ſeveral hillocks, or *Tumuli*, the marks of a battle, with a way called *Bloudgate*, which he refers to a ſlaughter of the Danes, and confirms his opinion by the ſhrub *Ebulus*, or *Dwarf Elder*, that grows thereabouts in great plenty, and is called by the inhabitants *Danes-Blood*, now more commonly *Daneweed* or *Danewort*. [b] Mr Camden likewiſe takes notice of a place called *Battlebury* near Warminſter in Wilt-

a Scenam hic fuiſſe Martis, clientumque ejus cæmiterium, qui Branoduni, & pro portu patriæ ad caſtra juxta Creake & Holkham contra Danos militantes occubuere. In campis enim de Creak haud procul à cœnobio, amplum erigitur ſepimentum militare Saxonici operis; à quo decurrens via regia BLOOD-GATE i. e. Sanguinea via, *nuncupatur; cruenti illic prælii teſtimonium. Habetur & his partibus Ebuli herbæ copia; quam, velut è Danorum exortam ſanguine, incolæ* DANE-BLOOD *vocant.* Cl. Hen. Spelman. Icenia. Fol. Oxon. 1697. Pag. 149.

b Britannia in Wiltſhire.

ſhire,

ſhire, ſo denominated from ſome action between the two people. I have already ſpoken of Bledon in Somerſetſhire, and Bledlow in Buckinghamſhire. There are others ſtill more obvious to every capacity, ſuch as *Kildane* in Eſſex, *Danesmore*, in Northamptonſhire, *Danesbank* in Yorkſhire, *Danesfield* in Bedfordſhire &c. I mention theſe as a ſpecimen only, of what antiquaries, if they pleaſe, may find in almoſt every county in the kingdom.

The [a] Tax formerly levied by our kings for the ſecurity of the ſea coaſts againſt Pyrates, which began in the time of the Danes, and after they ceaſed to infeſt the Iſland, was ſometimes, though, but rarely, exacted, and upon great emergencies, yet ſtill preſerved it's old name of *Danegeld.* The cuſtom of *Pledging healths* ſtill preſerved among Engliſhmen, is ſaid to be owing to the Saxons mutual regard for each others ſafety, and as a caution againſt the treacherous inhoſpitality of the Danes, when they came to live in peace with the natives. Their inhuman behaviour drew upon them at length the general reſentment of the Engliſh in King Ethelred's reign: ſo that in [b] one day they were entirely cut off in a general maſſacre. And though this did not remain long unrevenged; yet a feſtival was appointed in memory of it, called [c] *Hok Tueſday*, which

[a] *Qui igitur principaliter pro Dacis inſtitutus eſt hic redditus,* DANEGILDUM *vel* DANEGILDUS *dicitur. Hic igitur annua lege, ſicut dictum eſt, ſub indigenis regibus ſolvebatur, uſque ad tempora regis Will. I. de gente & genere Normannorum. Ipſo namque regnante, tam Daci, quam cæteri terræ mariſque prædones hoſtiles cohibebant incurſus. — Cum ergo diu ſolviſſet terra, ſub ejuſdem regis imperio, noluit hoc ut annuum ſolvi, quod fuerat urgente neceſſitate bellicæ tempeſtatis exactum, nec tamen omnino propter inopinatos caſus dimitti. Raro igitur temporibus illius, vel ſucceſſorum ipſius ſolutus.* Gervaſ. Tilbur. Dial. de Scaccar. Lib. I. c. XI.

[b] St Brice's Day A.D. 1001. Chronicon. Saxonicum. Pag. 133.

[c] D. Henr. Spelman. Gloſſarium. in Voce HOKDAY. I find this, amongſt other ſports, exhibited at Kenilworth Caſtle by the E. of Leiceſter, for the entertainment of Q. Elizabeth A.D. 1575. *And that there might be nothing wanting that theſe parts could afford, hither*

was kept up in Sr Hen. Spelman's time, and perhaps may be ſo at preſent in ſome parts of England. [a] The Warwick Antiquary derives its original from the death of the Daniſh King Hardeknute; but however that be, it is plain he meant the ſame feſtival. In ſhort the mercileſs fury of thoſe miſcreants left a laſting impreſſion upon the minds of Engliſhmen; and though the race of them has been for near ſeven hundred years extinct among us, yet their name is ſtill freſh in the mouths of the common people: nay the very remains of their dead bodies are [b] ſaid to be ſtill preſerved at ſome places, and ſhewn at this day as a curioſity to ſtrangers.

About the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when people knew no difference between Mahometaniſm, and downright Paganiſm; and thoſe expeditions of Engliſh princes to the Holy Land were thought a parallel cauſe to that of oppoſing the Danes in England; the humour of romancing ſeems to have taken it's riſe with us: and our bards accordingly choſe the actions of the Saxon times for their theme; blending them with others of a foreign nature, and, with a privilege peculiar to poets, always adorning the hiſtory with ſomething great and marvellous. Hence aroſe thoſe fabulous accounts of the

hither came the Coventre-men, and acted the ancient play long ſince uſed in that City, called HOCKS-TUESDAY, *ſetting forth the deſtruction of the Danes in K. Ethelred's time; with which the Queen was ſo pleaſed, that ſhe gave them a Brace of Bucks and five marks in money to bear the charges of a Feaſt.* S. Will. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire. Lond. 1656. Pag. 166.

a Poſt eum frater ſuus Rex Hardeknutus proxime in regno ſucceſſit, qui obiit quadam die Martis poſt paſcha. Iſti Dani in Angliam induxerunt immoderatum modum bibendi. Hardeknuto mortuo liberata eſt Anglia extunc à ſervitute Danorum. In cujus ſignum uſque hodie illa die vulgariter dicta Hoxtuiſday *ludunt in villis trahendo cordas partialiter, cum aliis jocis.* Joannes Roſſus Warwicenſis. Hiſtoria Regum Angliæ. MS. in Bibl Bodleiana. MSS. Jones No. I. Fol. 93.

b Journey through England. 3 Volumes 8vo. Lond. 1723. Vol. 1. Pag. 86.

heroick

heroick exploits of [a] Saxon champions, and their combats with Daniſh and Pagan Giants; all tending to animate their countrymen againſt the Danes and Saracens, in caſe they ſhould ever make the like attempts upon the Iſland.

Upon the whole therefore, I cannot perſwade myſelf, that theſe feſtivals of ſcouring the Horſe and the Croſs, can be aſcribed to any age with greater probability than to the Saxon. Nor that theſe Banners or Arms, for I ſuppoſe they will be allowed to be ſuch by all impartial readers, could be ſet up for any other purpoſe, than as Enſigns of victory.

The Concluſion. Thus have I endeavoured to ſupport my opinion concerning this noble, but hitherto neglected, monument of antiquity. And this I have done not only by comparing it with others of the ſame kind, but by removing, as far as I am able, the force of all the objections I could raiſe myſelf, or which might ſeem to be raiſed againſt it by others; without levelling my aim at any particular writers, and thereby avoiding, as much as poſſible, the air of a controverſy. Though perhaps for this very reaſon the preſent Eſſay may be thought deficient in that ſalt and ſpirit, which is requiſite to make an agreeable entertainment. For it muſt be obſerved, that the itch of peruſing controverſial writings, which is ſo epidemical amongſt us, is more owing to an ill-natured curioſity of prying into other people's faults, than to any real deſire of being rightly informed. By this means the caſe of authors is now become little better than that of champions on a ſtage, who, unleſs they heartily wound each other, are ſeldom thought to come off well, and to the ſatisfaction of the Spectators.

[a] Guy of Warwick is ſaid to have lived in the days of King Athelſtan: and Bevis of Southampton, to have been born in the Reign of King Edgar.

As

As for thoſe [a] gentlemen in diſguiſe, who have been ſo ſevere upon my perſon inſtead of my performance; if they intended to give me any uneaſineſs, they have fruſtrated their own deſign by abuſing me in the beſt of company. The world has expreſſed it's deteſtation of their ſlander; and the authors have been already ſufficiently chaſtized by a learned, tho' unknown [b] friend. Yet had not his generous reſentment forced him upon this diſagreeable task, I can aſſure them, their pamphlet might have remained to this time unanſwered for me. For ſince they are not aſhamed to mix dirt and venom with their arguments, ſuch as they are, in defiance of decency and all the laws of fair war: to ſay nothing harder of them, they are at leaſt too angry to be reaſoned with; if they had not likewiſe ſome other motive, beſides that of ſetting the publick right in a matter of antiquity. Let either of theſe be the caſe, and it cannot be imputed to want of courage, or a bad cauſe, if I endeavour to avoid ſuch adverſaries. As I am not conſcious of having deſerved this treatment at their hands, ſo I ſhall continue to give them no provocation; unleſs they ſhall think fit to be provoked at my ſilence.

a See *The Impertinence and Impoſture of modern antiquaries diſplayed*, &c. by Philalethes Ruſticus, with a preface by another hand. 4to Lond. 1740.

b An anſwer to a ſcandalous Libel entitled The Impertinence and Impoſture of modern antiquaries diſplayed, &c. 4to. Lond. 1740.

The E N D.

SOME

ENQUIRIES

CONCERNING THE FIRST

INHABITANTS LANGUAGE RELIGION

LEARNING AND LETTERS

OF

EUROPE.

By a Member of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

Antiquam exquirite Matrem. Virgil.
Nullius in verba. Hor.

OXFORD

Printed at the THEATRE for *J. Fletcher*, *S. Parker*, *D. Prince*, Bookſellers in Oxford, and Meſſrs *Rivington* and *Fletcher* in Pater-noſter Row Lond.
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following ſheets were at firſt deſigned for a ſhort introduction to a work of a more particular nature; but growing upon the author's hands, till they exceeded the reaſonable ſize of a preliminary diſſertation, he judged them large enough to make a ſeparate treatiſe. The courſe of his enquiries led him inſenſibly to an unknown country, a ſcene wild and dark to a proverb; where it was no leſs difficult to find the way, than, if it could be found, to perſwade others to follow him. Tho' the taſk was intricate, long, and tedious, yet he ſhall think it a ſufficient recompence for all his pains, if he has opened the way to truth. At the ſame time, he is not ſo vain, as to aſſume the character of an infallible guide. The ſubject, to be treated as it ought, requires greater abilities, than he can pretend to be maſter of; greater depth in ſciences, languages, hiſtory, both ancient and modern. If he has had the good fortune only to point out the road, and make it eaſier to thoſe who

come

come after him; it is all the merit that he can claim, and perhaps more than will be granted him.

The heathen Mythology is a free and open Chaſe, where men of letters are privileged to ſport, and purſue the game, each according to his fancy. As the author has taken this liberty himſelf, ſo he means not to interrupt the diverſion of others: nor will be diſpleaſed with them for ſtarting a new ſcheme, even directly oppoſite to his. He is not bigotted to an opinion, nor deſirous of entering into controverſy. Therefore if ſome ſhall ſet themſelves to prove, that the Gods never had a being; or if they had, that they came from Phenicia, Egypt, or Ethiopia; he can wiſh them all ſucceſs in their endeavours. And provided, that ſo many and plauſible reaſons ſhall be brought in favour of their hypotheſis, as he has produced for his; can be content, that what he has here ſaid, ſhall paſs for nothing.

OF THE FIRST INHABITANTS, LANGUAGE, RELIGION, LEARNING AND LETTERS OF EUROPE.

WE are aſſured from the very beſt authority, that for an age, or two, after the Floud, the whole world was of *One Speech*; and that this unity was broken about the time of the diſperſion of mankind. Since the firſt confuſion of tongues, reaſon and experience teach us, that languages, like ſtreams flowing from the ſame fountain, for a while continue pure and unmixt; till by deviating from each other in their courſes, and by receiving adventitious ſupplies, they become at laſt entirely different: the nearer therefore we can trace them to the fountain head, the greater affinity we find between them.

Of Languages and Dialects.

Diverſity of languages begins with Dialects, or different modes of utterance. The organs of ſpeech are differently framed by nature in different climates and countries; and even in the

the ſame country, ſome men pronounce their words broader, ſofter, harder, quicker or ſlower, than others: and ſome are unable to pronounce this or that letter. Theſe accidents, by example and imitation, bring on a change of vowels and conſonants; whence a language ſoon becomes very unlike to what it was at firſt. But when we add to this the increaſe of words, which new arts, new cuſtoms, produced; the privilege mankind has always taken of lengthning or abridging words at pleaſure; the care that ſome nations took to improve their language; to add harmony to their periods, by compound words, by ſonorous terminations, inflexions of nouns and verbs, and other properties of grammar and rhetorick: Thoſe, which were only dialects before, are now ſo diſguiſed, that they become different languages.

Europe peopled from Aſia.

The origin of the different languages of Europe muſt be ſought for among the very firſt inhabitants. If Europe was peopled, as it ſeems to have been, before the invention of (1) Shipping, or at leaſt before the art was grown com-

(1) The Ark of Noah, which ſome have thought was deſigned for a ſample of ſhip-building, was wrought in an inland country, and might be a proof, and memorial, that people had ſaved themſelves upon the water in time of a deluge; an event, which they had reaſon to expect, would never happen again, and therefore it could be no ſubject for imitation. Shipping was certainly the invention of a maritime people, not found out till ages after the flood; and probably in the Iſles of the Ægean ſea: nor could it be brought to any tolerable perfection, till long after the diſperſion of mankind. The firſt great fleets we hear of, were thoſe of Saturn and Minos, both in Crete; but the firſt navigations were made in hollowed trees, boats, and ſmall veſſels, by coaſting near the ſhoar, and it was long before men ventured far out to ſea. Such veſſels were utterly unfit for tranſporting colonies, with their implements, proviſions, cattle, and other incumbrances, nor can be thought to have been uſed for that purpoſe, ſo early as the firſt migrations by land.

mon:

mon: it is not probable, that large colonies from Aſia could at firſt come any other way than by land, or over frozen lakes and rivers; and therefore the Northern and Eaſtern parts received the firſt inhabitants.

The portion of Japhet.

In the diviſion of the countries after the Floud, the North Eaſtern, as it ſeems, fell to the ſhare of Japhet and his ſeven ſons; and have ever ſince proved a moſt fruitful and inexhauſtible nurſery of mankind. The North has been called the Great Hive, from whence the inhabitants of three parts of the globe were propagated. For not only (1) Europe and Aſia, but the vaſt continent of (2) America, is with good reaſon ſuppoſed to have been peopled from hence. So wonderfully did nature cooperate with the patriarch's benediction, *God ſhall enlarge Japhet.*

Europe not peopled till after the diſperſion.

It would be a vain attempt to fix the time, when Europe began to be inhabited; let it ſuffice to know, that it could not happen till after the diſperſion in the days of Phaleg. And I think that the whole, even to the extremities of the continent, might have been peopled in a Century or two, after they began to move. The progreſs of different families ſeeking new ſeats is aptly compared to the agitation of the ſea; to

(1) *Nulla Europæ fere gens, nec Aſiæ, quin a ſeptentrione promanaverit. Inde propagines profectæ populorum quibus Europæ Aſiæque pleræque partes conſitæ fuerunt. Scythia igitur, quæ ad ſeptentrionem, omnes ferme gentes evomuit cum ſuis linguis, quæ Europam & Aſiam inundarunt. Ut autem vaſtiſſima illa Scytharum regio fuit, & late porrecta ad orientem & occidentem, verſus meridiem eructando varias hinc in Europa, inde in Aſia, produxit gentes.* Salmaſ. de Helleniſtica. pag. 366.

(2) Joh. de Laet. Not. ad Grotii Diſſert. de Gent. Americ. Amſtel. 1643. 8vo.

waves impelling one another, and ſpreading wider ſtill as they go. The firſt undulation is effaced by a ſecond, and that by a third, and ſo on; till all at laſt ſubſiding in a calm, no viſible traces remain of any.

Cimmerians the firſt people of Europe.

How many ſucceſſions of people might have paſſed in this manner into Europe, it is impoſſible to compute. The firſt, that appear upon record, are called by the Greeks (1) Cimmerians, who are ſaid to have been (2) driven out of their country by an inundation; which to me is one argument of their very great antiquity. For thoſe fabulous traditions that convey to us any imperfect notices of the general deluge, ſuch as the ſtories of Ogyges and Deucalion, ſeem to belong to the moſt early times wherein facts were remembered.

The Cimmerians were Scythians.

The Cimmerians have left their name in the Boſporus, and town Cimmerium near the Euxine Sea, where probably were their firſt habitations in Europe. And from hence

(1) The firſt notice of the Cimmerians occurs in Homer Odyſſ. λ. v. 14. who deſcribes them as a people living in perpetual darkneſs, and in the road to the infernal regions. The firſt account of their motions is found in Euſebius Chron. *Incurſus in Aſiam Amazonum pariter & Cimmeriorum.* This he places about a hundred years after the Trojan war. Herodotus mentions another irruption into Aſia, in the time of Cyaxares and Pſammitichus. But their firſt migrations are unknown, and muſt have happened many hundreds of years before the oldeſt of theſe incurſions.

(2) Ὅτι χερρόνησον οἰκοῦντες, μεγάλῃ πλημμυείδι ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τ τόπων. Strabo Lib. VII. p. 292. Strabo here ſpeaks of the inhabitants of the Cimbric Cherſoneſe or Jutland, and eſteems the account altogether fabulous. But as Ephorus, Poſidonius, and others before him, thought theſe the ſame people with the Cimmerians of the Tauric Cherſoneſe; the inundation mentioned was probably an old tradition derived from their anceſtors; ſince it can by no means agree to the Cimbrians.

the

the reſt of Europe ſeems to have been peopled; either by voluntary motions of the Cimmerians, or when they were puſhed forward by their neighbours. Many queſtions have been raiſed about the word Cimmerians; as whether they were ſo called from Gomer eldeſt ſon of Japhet, as if they were (1) Gomerians; and whether they were the ſame with the Cimbrians as (2) Strabo, (3) Plutarch, and other Greek writers were of opinion. They were without diſpute ſome of thoſe roving northern people, whoſe firſt migrations were of too early a date, to come within the Sphere of (4) Grecian hiſtory. And as to their name, I think they

(1) Goropius Becanus Antiqu. Antwerp. Lib. IV. p. 374, 375. Camden. Proleg. de Britan. Pezron Antiq. of Nations.

(2) Ἔκτηντο δ' οἱ Κιμμέριοι μεγάλην ποτὲ ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ δύναμιν διόπερ καὶ Κιμμέριος Βόσπορος ὠνομάσθη. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τοὺς τὴν μεσόγαιαν οἰκοῦντας ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπιδράμοντες. Strabo Lib. XI. Ὅτι λησεικοὶ ὄντες καὶ πλάνητες οἱ Κίμβροι, καὶ μέχρι τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ποιήσαντο στρατείαν· ἀπ' ἐκείνων δὲ καὶ ὁ Κιμμέριος κληθείη Βόσπορος, οἷον Κίμβρικος, Κιμμερίους τοὺς Κίμβρους ὀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Idem Lib. 7.

(3) Κιμμερίων μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τότε δὲ Κίμβρων, οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου προσηγορευομένων. Plutarch. in Mario. ΑΒΡΟΙ. — Κίμβροι, ὡς τινές φασι Κιμμερίους. Steph. Byzant. de Urb.

Ὀρθὸν Κιμμερίου διὰ Βοσπόρου. Dionyſ. Perieg. Ver. 167.

Ταύρου, ὑφ' ᾧ κεῖνται οἱ Κίμμεριοι, τὸ Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος. Euſtath. in loc. Cimmerians ſeems to me to be only the older name of the Scythians, and common to all the Northern nations. *Kimmer*, *Kimber*, *Kemper*, and *Kempfer*, may mean only a *Souldier*, or *Man of War*.

(4) That the Greeks had but a very imperfect knowledge of the Northern nations in the time of Herodotus, appears from the fourth book of his hiſtory; the account of them there given being not to be depended upon, nor believed by Herodotus himſelf. Several particulars of his relation are merely poetical fables, ſuch as "The air of the Hyperboreans being darken-"ed with feathers;" which the hiſtorian himſelf could explain by the falling of Snow: "The Gryphons, who guarded the Gold country;" which may have a poetical meaning, not ſo eaſily accounted for as the former: "The "Arimaſpians or people with one eye," which may allude to the Scythian manner of taking aim in ſhooting, by cloſing the other. So ſays Euſtathius. Αἰσχύλος δὲ Μονῶπα Στρατὸν [Arimaſpios] ὀνομάζει, διότι τοξικώτατοι ὄντες ἐπιμύουσι τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμὸν, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν βολὴν εὔστοχον. Comm. in Dion. Perieg. v. 31. Herodotus ſeems to acknowledge that he took his account chiefly from the

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may be ſafely comprehended under the common one of (1) Scythians, given by the ancient Greeks to all the Northern nations in general.

The Scythian Age.

Hiſtory informs us that the (2) Scythians were always reputed a moſt ancient people; and that they diſputed the prize of antiquity with other nations. S. Epiphanius, recounting the ſeveral inſtitutions, tenets, and hereſies that prevailed in the world, and reducing them to chronological order,

three books of *Arimaſpian verſes*, written by Ariſteas the Proconneſian, who lived ſeveral hundreds of years before him, and was older than Homer; and by ſome thought to have been his maſter: Strabo calls him a jugler, ἀνὴρ γόης εἰ τις ἄλλος. Lib. XIII. p. 589. be that as it will, he was the firſt, that we can trace, who gave the Greeks any account of the Northern nations. The Cyclopes of the poets, were of the higheſt antiquity, as being the Sons of Cœlus and Terra. Vid. Heſiod. Theog. v. 139. And Strabo tells us that Homer took his one-eyed Cyclopes from the Scythian Hiſtory, and the Arimaſpian verſes of Ariſteas. Τάχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς μονομμάτους Κύκλωπας ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς ἱστορίας μετενήνοχε· τισὶ γάρ τινας τοὺς Ἀριμασπούς φασιν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ἀριμασπείοις ἔπεσιν ἐκδέδωκεν Ἀριστέας ὁ Προκοννήσιος. Geogr. Lib. I. pag. 21. This ſhews from what quarter the oldeſt fables of the Greeks were derived. I am not ignorant, that Suidas brings Ariſteas down to the time of Cyrus and Crœſus; but chuſe rather to abide by the authority of Strabo.

(1) Τὴν γε μὲν προσηγορίαν αὐτῶν ἀμφίρρως ἡμῖν οἱ πάλαι σοφοὶ διεπορήμευσαν· Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ Κιμμερίους αὐτοὺς καλεῖ· Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ὁ τὰ Περσικὰ συγγεγραμμένος Σκύθας πολυειδῶς· ὁ δὲ Χαιρωνεὺς Πλούταρχος Κίμβρους καὶ Τεύτονας. Niceph. Gregoras Hiſt. Lib. II. de Scythis. Φημὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων δόξαν, ὥσπερ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν μέρη τὰ γνώριμα ἑνὶ ὀνόματι Σκύθας ἐκάλεν, ἢ Νόμαδας, ὡς Ὅμηρος, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν γνωσθέντων, Κέλτοι καὶ Ἴβηρες, ἢ συμμίκτως Κελτίβηρες καὶ Κελτο-Σκύθαι προσηγορεύοντο, ὑφ' ἓν ὄνομα τῶν καθέκαστα ἐθνῶν ταπομόνων διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν. Strabo Lib. I. p. 33. Ἅπαντας μὲν δὴ τοὺς προσβόρρους, κοινῶς οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς Σκύθας καὶ Κελτο-Σκύθας ἐκάλεν. Idem Lib. XI. p. 507. Timonax an ancient hiſtorian, or geographer, reckoned Fifty different nations of Scythia. Τῆς δὲ Σκυθίας ἔθνη πεντήκοντα Τιμώναξ ἀναγράφει ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Σκυθῶν. Schol. in Apoll. Argonaut. Lib. IV. v. 320.

(2) *Fuere quidem temporibus* [Nini] *antiquiores, Vexores rex Ægypti & Scythiæ rex Tanais.* Juſtin. Lib. II. *Scytharum gens antiquiſſima ſemper habita: quanquam inter Scythas & Ægyptios diu contentio de generis vetuſtate fuerit* — — Idem ibid.

begins

begins with BARBARISM and (1) SCYTHISM: the former commencing with Adam, and terminating with Noah; the latter beginning from the Deluge, and laſting to the time of Serug great grandfather of Abraham. He likewiſe ſays, that thoſe, who were afterwards called Scythians, were the ſame people, who built the Tower of Babel. This period then from the Deluge to Serug, is properly called the SCYTHIAN AGE; tho', as is uſual in ſuch remote caſes, chronologers may differ about the extent and duration of it.

The repleniſhing of the earth from Ararat.

S. Epiphanius could not depart from the Moſaic hiſtory; nor can any Chriſtian deny, that the reparation of mankind began where the Ark reſted. We are told by Moſes, that the Ark landed on Ararat, which has been commonly taken for Armenia, or a mountain in that country; or at leaſt for one of the mountains on Taurus or Caucaſus, between the Caſpian and Euxine Seas. This is an errour as old as the time of Beroſus, and ſupported by (2) Joſephus; therefore we are not to wonder that it is ſtill (3) believed by Mahometans,

(1) Ἕως τούτου ἔμενε ΣΚΥΘΙΚΗ τις διάδοχη καὶ Επίκλησις. Adver. Hær. p. 8. ΣΚΥΘΙΣΜΟΣ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν κατακλυσμοῦ ἄχρι τοῦ Πύργου, καὶ τῶν Σερούχ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Σερὺχ ἕως τῶν Αβραὰμ καὶ δεῦρο Ελληνισμός. Idem p. 9. Απὸ δὲ τοῦ κλίματος τῶν πρὸς Εὐρώπην εἰς Ασίαν κεκλικότες, ἐπονωμάσθησαν πάντες κατὰ τὴν χρόνου ἐπίκλησιν ΣΚΥΘΑΙ, κτίζουσι δὲ τὴν Πυργοποιΐαν, καὶ οἰκοδομοῦσι τὰ Βαβυλῶνα. Id. p. 6.

(2) Joſeph. Antiqu. Jud. Lib. I. §. 3. & Lib. XX. §. 2.

(3) Beroſus affirmed that the Ark was in being in his time, on the Gordiæan mountains; and that the people brought away the bitumen or pitch that was upon it, and uſed it by way of amulets. The inhabitants of Georgia ſtill make an advantage of the ſtory, by furniſhing travellers with little pieces of black wood, which, they tell them, are relicks of Noah's Ark. See Olearius's Holſtein Ambaſſadors Travels. Book VII. p. 403. Mr John Struys has given us a view of Ararat, and would perſwade us that he aſcended

Jews, and Chriſtians. I call it an (1) errour, becauſe a (2) learned modern hath proved, I think beyond contradiction, that Ararat could not be ſituated in Armenia, or on that part of mount Caucaſus. And one obvious reaſon muſt occur to any one, who reads the hiſtory; which ſays "They journeyed from the Eaſt to the plains of Shinar;" whereas Armenia lies to the North-Weſt of Shinar.

Ararat a mountain in Scythia.

(3) Some Chriſtian writers, of great fame for learning, and of different perſwaſions in religious points, agree to place the Ark in Scythia, on the mountains called Imaus;

ed five days journey on the mountain; being called by ſome religious to the aſſiſtance of an Hermit, who lived there, and had been as high as the Ark on top, and brought away pieces of it; one of which he gave to Struys as a reward for curing him of a rupture: telling him withal how valuable ſuch a relick would be at Rome, and giving him a Latin certificate of this whole interview; which the reader may find printed in Struys's Voyages. Book III. c. 20. p. 226. Mr Tournefort met with too many difficulties in aſcending, and was forced to return before he got half way: and ſeems to give but little credit to Struys's relation. However the inhabitants aſſured him, that the Ark was ſtill in being, only buried in the Snow. See Tournefort's Voyage to the Levant Vol. III.

(1) *Joſephus de montibus Armeniæ ſatis mirabilia ſcribit, & meminit reliquias Arcæ ſuo tempore ibi inventas. Sed nemo opinor me ideo hæreticum judicabit, ſi de ejus fide alicubi dubitem.* Mart. Luther Enarrat. in Gen. Oper. Tom. IV. p. 105.

(2) Sheringham De Anglorum Gentis Orig. pag. 373, 374, &c.

(3) *Illud magis neceſſarium eſt, ut qui ſint montes Ararat inquiramus. Eſt autem communis ſententia omnium fere quod ſint montes Armeniæ propter maximos montes Aſiæ Caucaſum & Taurum. Sed mihi veriſimilius videtur ſignificari principem omnium montium IMAUM qui dividit Indiam. Ad hunc enim alii magni montes ſunt quaſi verrucæ. Nam quod Arca in ſummo monte quieverit, argumento eſt, quod tribus totis menſibus fere decreverunt aquæ, donec inferiores montes detegerentur, Libanus, Taurus, Caucaſus, qui IMAI tanquam pedes aut radices ſunt, ſicut Alpium quaſi brachia ſunt montes Græciæ, & pertingunt uſque ad noſtram Herciniam ſylvam, mirabilis enim montium quaſi propago apparet diligenter de iis conſideranti.* Mart. Luther. Enarrat. in Geneſin. Pag. 105. v. Witteber. 1580. Op. Tom. VII. *Ararat igitur Taurus erit, qua parte ab Aſia Minore diſcedens ad Imaum uſque pertingit.* Gorop. Becanus. Indo-Scythica. Pag. 479.

ſtretching

ſtretching from North to South, and dividing Tartary, into what Ptolemy calls Scythia within Imaus, and Scythia beyond Imaus. Here too our moſt judicious (1) Sir Walter Raleigh places it, juſt where Taurus, Paropamiſus, or Caucaſus interſects the Imaus, in about thirty five, or thirty ſeven, degrees of north latitude. By this he obviates two objections that might be made to Scythia, viz. The journeying from the Eaſt; and that of Noah's planting the Vine. Again, if we are to ſuppoſe, as the tenour of the hiſtory ſeems to imply, that the Ark reſted on the higheſt ground, and the mountains began firſt to be inhabited; we ſhall find none higher than the Scythian. The Caucaſean mountains, as they are commonly called, between the Caſpian and Euxine, muſt be conſiderably lower than the Riphæan, and other Scythian mountains, from whence the rivers after a long and rapid courſe diſcharge themſelves into thoſe two ſeas. The (2) height of the ground the Scythians urged in their diſpute with the Egyptians, and brought it as the chief argument for the antiquity of their nation; and the Egyptians, or at leaſt other good judges, acquieſced in the proof. The Caucaſean mountains, as they approach to join the Imaus, are known to riſe gradually higher; and (3) Ptolemy obſerves

(1) Hiſtory of the World. Book I. Chap. 7. §. 10.

(2) *Quod ſi omnes quondam terræ ſubmerſæ profundo fuerunt, profecto editiſſimam quamque partem decurrentibus aquis primum detectam; humillimo autem ſolo eandem æquam diutiſſime immoratam: & quanto prior quæque pars terrarum ſiccata ſit, tanto prius animalia generare cœpiſſe. Porro Scythiam adeo editiorem omnibus terris eſſe, ut cuncta flumina ibi nata in Mœotim, tum deinde in Ponticum & Ægyptium mare decurrant. — His igitur argumentis ſuperatis Ægyptiis, antiquiores ſemper Scythæ viſi.* Juſtin Hiſt. Lib. II.

(3) Ὄρη δ' ὀνομάζει Τῆς Ἐντὸς Ιμάου ὄρους Σκυθίας, τά τε ἀνατολικώτερα τῆς Ὑπερβορείων. Geograph. Lib. VI c. 14.

that

that "The mountains of Scythia within Imaus, and thoſe "that lye more eaſtward of the Hyperboreans, were re- "markable for their height."

The mountain called the Stone Tower.

The learned have taken no notice of one particular, which ſtrikes me very much: I mean, The Mountain called, as I ſuppoſe from its figure, the (1) *Stone Tower*, mentioned by Ptolemy, where he ſpeaks of Imaus, as lying in thirty three degrees of north latitude. I will not poſitively affirm, that the Ark reſted on this mountain, tho' the thing is not (2) improbable; but the reader perhaps may pardon my curioſity, if I take it to be the very

(1) Καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Λιθινος Πύργος ἐπέχει γλε. λγ. Geogr. Lib. VI. c. 12.

(2) All accounts of the great deluge agree in this, "That the Ark, or "Ship, landed on a high mountain:" Nicolas Damaſcenus, as he is quoted by Joſephus, calls this mountain "BARIS near Minyas in Armenia:" but no geographer mentions ſuch a mountain, in his deſcription of that country. The word *Baris* with the Greeks has various ſignifications, and amongſt the reſt means a Ship, a Tower, or any great edifice. ΒΑΡΙΣ. σημαίνει ὃ τὸν Πύργον ἢ τὴν Κλίνην, παρὰ τὸ μὴ βιας πολλῆς ἀιρῆσθαι. ΒΑΡΕΙΣ. Τείχη, Ηλοῖα, Στοαὶ, Αὐλαὶ, Πύργοι, Σφᾶιραι· τινες ὃ λέγουσιν, αἱ μεγάλαι ἢ καταδαφροι πέτραι. Etym. Magnum. With the Jews it only ſignified *a Stone Tower*, or *Fortification*. ΒΑΡΙΣ *verbum ὀπτχώεων Palæſtinæ, uſque hodie Domus ex omni parte concluſæ, & in modum ædificatæ Turrium, ac Mœnium Publicorum,* Βαρεῖς *appellantur*. Hieronym. Epiſt. Crit. de Nom. Hebr. Thus the fortreſs adjoining to the Temple, repaired by Herod, and ſirnamed *Antonia* in honour of M. Antony, was called BARIS, or The Citadel. *It was called* Baris *from* Birah, *which word among the eaſtern nations ſignified a Palace, or Royal Caſtle; and in this ſenſe it is often uſed in thoſe Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, which were written after the Babyloniſh captivity; as in Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Eſther; which ſhews it to have been borrowed from the Chaldeans, and from them brought into the Hebrew language. The Septuagint often renders it by the word* Baris. *And in this ſenſe it is that this fortreſs, under the Aſmoneans, was called* Baris, *that is the* Birah, *or Royal Palace of the prince.* Prideaux Connection. Par. II. Book V. Of the ſame Scythian original ſeem to be the words *Bar* and *Bro* of the Celtes, Burg and Byrig of the Saxons, for a *Fortified Eminence*; and the Πύργος, or *Tower* of the Greeks.

pattern,

pattern, of what the projectors designed to build in the plains of Shinar.

The meaning of the word Scythians.

From Scythia then came those swarms of people, which at first stocked all Europe, and in succeeding times depopulated many parts of it. As they were different families, and became in time different states and kingdoms, they must have used different languages, or at least different dialects of the same mother tongue; and this could be no other than the language of (1) *Japhet*. The various names under which they are mentioned in history, were probably taken from their different (2) leaders or heads of families, who often gave names to the countries where they settled; and which again were as often changed by new masters; but that general one of *Scythians*, from their arms, from their strength and skill in managing the Bow; for it seems to mean no more than (3) *Shooters* or *Bowmen*.

(1) The memory of Japhet was preserved among the ancient Greeks, as appears from their *Japetus*, whom they seem to call the Father of Speech and Language. Οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶ παλαιῶν ΙΑΠΕΤΟΣ μὲν ὠνομάσθη ὁ Λόγος, καθ' ὃν ἡ φωνικὴ ζῶα ἐγίνετο, ἡ τὸ ὅλον ψόφος ἀποτελέσθη, Ιακετός τις ὢν· οἷα δὴ ἡ φωνή. Phurnut. De Nat. Deor. pag. 41. Ed. Gale.

(2) Procopius makes the same remark upon the different Goths of his time. Φωνὴ τε αὐτοῖς ὁμὴ μία Γοτθικὴ· καὶ μοὶ δοκῶν ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲν ἔθνους ἅπαντας τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθνος, ἐνόμασι δὲ ὕστερον τῶν ἑκάστοις ἡγησαμένων διακεκρίσθαι. Bell. Vandal. Lib. I. c. 2. Τὸς δὲ ἄλλους κοινῶς μὲν Σκύθας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἑκάστους. Strabo Lib. X. p. 511.

(3) Salmasius forms the Greek word Σκύθαι from Γέται, Γόται, Γύται, by apposition of the Æolic *Sigma*. De Hellenistica. Pag. 369. But this derivation seems too far strained; it is more easy perhaps to find it in their own languages, as in the Saxon Scytan and Sceotan. *Sagittare*, To shoot, whence Sceota *Scots*, the proper name of the Irish, whom Nennius calls in Latin *Scythæ*, the Saxons Sceotan, Scyttan, and Scyttisc, which is likewise *Scythians*. And so the Dutch *Scutten*, the Welch *Yscot*, means both Scots and Scythians. See Camden Proleg. de Scotis. Arngrim Jonas upon the Runic

Scythians the same with Barbarians.

That we may enter upon the affairs of Europe where history begins, let it be remembered, that the first inhabitants of Greece were (1) Barbarians; by which word, I imagine, the older Greeks always meant Scythians, it being the common epithet bestowed upon that people; insomuch that the terms *Barbarian* and *Scythian* are in a manner (2) synonymous. In later times, it is true, the

letter ⲧ has this remark. ⲧ *vocatur* YR, *a qua litera quidam putant Yrlandos vocari, quod in eorum lingua, quam aliis sit frequentior. Nec hujus elementi notatio multum abludit*, Yr bender bogie *i. e.* Yr signat Arcum intensum; *quo imprimis utuntur Irlandi.* Worm. Lit. Run. c.17. p.101. The first Hercules, out of whom the Greeks have made so many, was renowned for his Bow, and may be allowed to have been a Scythian, since the fable in Herodotus makes him something more, the grandfather of the Scythians. Scythes, from whom the country was denominated, being the youngest of three sons of Hercules, and preferred to reign, for his greater strength in drawing his father's Bow. Herod. Lib. IV. Diodor. Lib. II.

(1) Ἑκαταῖος μὲν οὖν ὁ Μιλήσιος περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου φησὶν, ὅτι πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ᾤκησε αὐτὴν Βάρβαροι· χρεὸν δὲ τι καὶ ἡ σύμπασα Ἑλλὰς κατοικία Βαρβάρων ὑπῆρξε τὸ παλαιόν. Strabo Lib.VII. p. 321.

(2) Commentators have been much perplexed about that verse in St Paul's Epistles, Coloss. c. 3. v. 11. Ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, Βάρβαρος Σκύθης, δοῦλος ἐλεύθερος. Where there is an antithesis, seemingly intended to be carried on throughout, but in which the text, as it now stands, is a little defective. The word Σκύθης *Scythian* may possibly be a Gloss crept into the text, inserted at first only to explain the more general word Βάρβαρος *Barbarian*; and perhaps the whole ought to be read, *Where there is neither Gentile or Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, Greek or Barbarian, bond or free.* Thus I find it in the ancient Syriac version, which, I presume, is much older than any Greek manuscript of the Epistles now extant. The word Ἕλλην misunderstood seems to have given occasion to the corruption. Ἕλληνες, in the Syriac version, is sometimes render'd *Arameans* or *Syrians*, as Acts 20. v. 21. Rom. 10. v. 12. at other times *Gentiles:* by S. Jerom, Beza, and our English translators, it is as often rendered *Greeks*, tho' I think improperly: for when set in opposition to *Jews*, it should naturally mean *Gentiles* or *Idolaters*, such as the Syrians were with respect to Abraham. In the Gospel of S. John c.12. v.20. the Syriac renders it *Gentiles*, and with this agrees the Gothic version, which may be older than S. Jerom's, by translating it ψιηαϩ *Gentes*,

Greeks, in imitation of the Egyptians, called without distinction all other nations Barbarous; and therefore the Phenicians and Egyptians themselves, who abounded in science, and brought colonies into their country, are nevertheless called Barbarous, upon account of their speech. But these were not the Barbarians, who are (1) said to be older than the Greeks; for there were natives of Greece, long before the arrival of the Phenicians and Egyptians. And who were those natives, but the descendants of the first inhabitants, that is, Scythians or Barbarians? Whose language was likewise the primitive language of the coun-

Gentes, and the Saxon Þæðene *Ethnici*. And the Apostle all along seems to have understood it in that sense, as Rom. I. v. 16. 2. v. 9, 10. 1 Cor. I. v. 23. unless once where he opposes it to *Barbarians*, as Rom. I. v. 14. Ἕλλησί τε καὶ Βαρβάροις, σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις, ὀφειλέτης εἰμί· and there it necessarily means *Greeks*. S. Luke the Apostle's colleague is so to be understood, Acts 14. v. 1. 18. v. 4. 19. v. 10. 21. v. 28. as likewise the Fathers and later Christian writers. Οὐ διαφέρει· ἐάν τε Νομικὸς ᾖ, ἐάν τε ΕΛΛΗΝ, ἐ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων μόνων, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὁ θεὸς Κύριος. Clem. Alexand. Strom. VI. p. 638. Ed. Sylb. Περὶ τῶν ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ Θεὸς διαμείμψοι· εὐεισκέν τε ὡς ὁ αὐτοῦ πατὴρ Κωνσάντιος ἐπεγραφεὶς τὰς ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ θρησκείας. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. c. 2. And to go no further than S. Epiphanius. ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων τῆ Σερὲχ ἐναρξάμενος· διά τοι τῆς Εἰδωλολατρείας. Resp. ad Epist. Acacii. Καὶ ἄρχεται ἐνθένδε ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῆ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ μὴ τὸ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΝ. Adv. Hæres. Lib. I. pag. 9. Ἀπὸ δὴ τῆ Σερὲχ ἕως τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ δεῦρο ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ. Id. ibid. Here we see the word Ἑλληνισμὸς, or *Gentilism*, applied to a people who lived at a time when the Greeks were scarce known, or had a name. Now let me suppose that the Text, in conformity to the Syriac version, stood thus in the original: Ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, [Ἕλλην] βάρβαρος, δοῦλος ἐλεύθερος. Here the word is used in both senses, and the proper antithesis likewise preserved, of *Gentile* and *Jew*, *Greek* and *Barbarian:* but a common transcriber, or even S. Jerom himself, might easily take the latter Ἕλλην to be redundant, thinking it equivalent to That which went before, and so wholly omitted it; and then, that the word Βάρβαρος might not stand alone without its opposite, took in Σκύθης a gloss, tho' it only signified the same thing. If this is, as it seems to be, a corrupt reading, I know no other way of accounting for it.

(1) Ὅτι δὴ Βαρβάρων πάντων αὐτὰ παρειλήφαμεν· ἔστι δ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαιότεροι Βάρβαροι. Plato in Cratylo. Vol. I. p. 425. Ed. Serran.

try, though the Greeks were afterwards aſhamed of ſuch an original.

The Pelaſgians were Scythians.

Here perhaps it may be objected, that the moſt ancient language of Greece was that of the (1) Pelaſgians; a people whoſe antiquity has made their pedigree ſo very obſcure, that ſome of the ancients thought, that they ſprung from the ſoil; and (2) modern writers, that they came from Phenicia. The later Greeks were no competent judges in this caſe; for they knew no more of the firſt peopling of their country, than we do of ours. And to ſay that the Pelaſgians were Phenicians, is an aſſertion, without the leaſt proof from ancient hiſtory. We are told by (3) Herodotus and (4) Strabo, that the Pelaſgians were great wanderers, and that their ſpeech was barbarous; characters ſuiting with the Scythians, rather than any other people. And for aught that appears to me, the Pelaſgians were only a branch of the Northern nations, and the firſt who grew famous for being a ſeafaring people, and from thence had their (5) name.

(1) Πελασγοὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δυναστευσάντων ἀρχαιότατοι λέγονται. Strabo Lib. VII. p. 327.

(2) See Mr Jackſon's Chronological Antiquities. Vol. 3.

(3) Το μὲν Πελασγικόν το δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος· τὸ μὲν ὀδαμῆ κῶ ἐξεχώρησε· τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. Lib. I. §. 56. Ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. §. 57.

(4) Πολυπλάνον δὲ καὶ ταχὺ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς ἐπαναστάσεις. Geogr. Lib. XIII. p. 621.

(5) ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΙ from ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ, *The Sea.* See Bp Cumberland's *Orig. Gentium Antiquiſſ.* Pag. 295. The radical word is *Peleg* or *Phaleg*, ſignifying *Diviſion*, the Sea being the great divider of people and countries; eſpecially the Archipelago, or Ægean Sea, where, as I ſuppoſe, the word firſt took its riſe. I might, if it was neceſſary, offer another conjecture, that they were ſo called from being a Diviſion, or detachment, from the main body of ſome other nation; and ſupport it by a ſimilar inſtance. For the Parthians are denominated from the Celtic *Parth*, a part, or *Parthu* to divide, (the Hebrew is *Parad)* being a people by ſome means or other ſeparated from the Eaſtern

The Pelaſgic Greek language.

Hiſtory marks out two very diſtinguiſhable periods of the Greek tongue. The firſt language was the Pelaſgic, which in time grew obſolete, and gave place to the Hellenic; ſo called from Hellen a Scythian prince, ſaid to be the ſon of Deucalion, who reigned in Theſſaly. The Hellenic was again ſubdivided into ſeveral dialects, but not ſo altered as to become different languages. Both Pelaſgic and Hellenic without queſtion came from Scythia, and from one common root originally; and the former flouriſhed in Greece long before the ſettlements of thoſe tranſmarine colonies, under Cecrops, Danaus, Cadmus, and others. Nor was it confined to Greece; but by the Pelaſgians or their anceſtors, was ſpread over Italy, and all parts of Europe: and I take it to be the ſame which antiquaries now agree to call the Celtic. This ſtill continues a living language, and allowing for length of time, and difference of countries, I ſuppoſe, not much different from the old Pelaſgic.

The Hellenic Greek.

The Hellenic Greek by mixture of people, and by ſtudied refinements, became in time a very mixt, but copious and harmonious language; and by its own merit and the works

Eaſtern Scythians. They are called Παρθυαῖοι and Φυγάδες by Stephanus Byzantinus: And Juſtin ſays, *Scythico ſermone Parthi Exules dicuntur.* Thoſe who can. reliſh neither of theſe etymologies, may perhaps find ſatisfaction in the opinion of Bochart and Salmaſius, who derive the Pelaſgians from Peleg or Phaleg himſelf, a deſcendant of Sem, in whoſe time the earth was divided. S. Epiphanius obſerves that Phaleg and his ſon Reu, or Ragau, came into Europe: Φαλὲκ καὶ Ραγαῦ εἶπινες ὅτι τὸ τ᾽ Εὐρώπης χλίμα νενευκότες τῇ τῆς Σκυθίας μέρει, καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔθνεσι κατοικεῖσθαι. Hence Salmaſius derives the Greeks from Ragau: *Pelaſgos à Phaleg, & Græcos, ſive* Γραίκες, *a Rhagau dictos eſſe, certa fides eſt ex nominis indicio, & re ipſa.* De Helleniſtica, Pag. 342.

of

of many excellent authors, has been preſerved from corruption for many ages; and is likely to continue ſo for ever. But when refined to the utmoſt, it could not otherwiſe happen, but that it muſt retain many words brought in at firſt by Barbarians, as (1) Plato affirms. It is therefore an errour in thoſe learned men, who are fond of deriving all words, and eſpecially the Northern ones, from the Greek; for this is only going ſo far out of the way to prove a point: the Greek being not the (2) parent, but only a ſiſter of the Northern languages; and with as much, if not more, juſtice, may be ſaid to be derived from them. One mark of antiquity yet remains in the Northern languages, which they had in common with the Greek, though it is not to be found in the Roman; and that is the (3) *Dual Number* in Grammar. This, though extinct in Engliſh, is ſtill preſerved in the Saxon, Gothic, Franco-Teutonic, and in the modern Runic, or Icelandic.

The Celtes or Weſtern Scythians.

The names for the three diviſions of the old world, Europe, Aſia, and Libya, are not to be found in ſacred writ; nor could the Greek (4) hiſtorians diſcover, how or

(1) In Cratylo. ubi ſupra.

(2) *Licet vero plurimas originationes videar ad fontes Græcos retuliſſe, non tamen hoc ita velim accipi, quaſi linguæ ſuæ partem patres noſtri hauſerint a Græcis; cum veritati magis videatur conſentaneum veterem Græcam Scythicamque, nec non ipſam quoque Gothicam, ex vetere Scythia provenientem, a communi aliqua origine promanaſſe: multique adeo viri longe doctiſſimi illam potius ex hac, quam hanc ex illa deſumptam cenſeant.* Junii Præf. ad Gloſſar. Gothicum.

(3) Vid. Thom. Mareſchall. Not. in Verſion. Gothicam. Pag. 404, 415, 416. Et Cl. Hickeſii Theſ. Ling. Septentr.

(4) Οὐδ' ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ' ὅτευ, μιῇ ἐούσῃ γῇ, οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται, ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν. — ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη οὐδ' εἰ περίξυτος ἐστὶ γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· οὔτε ὁκόθεν τὸ οὔνομα ἔλαβε τοῦτο, οὔτε ὅς τίς ἦν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται. Herodot. Lib. IV. §. 45.

when

when they began. (1) Ephorus divided the inhabitants by the four cardinal points, allotting the Eaſt to the Indians, the South to the Æthiopians, the Weſt to the Celtes, and the North to the Scythians. (2) S. Epiphanius calls Europe a part of Scythia; and (3) Ptolemy calls it Celtica or Celto-Galatia. The Celtes then, or Weſtern Scythians, were the inhabitants of Europe; the ſame with the (4) Galatæ of the Greeks, and Galli of the Romans; and even theſe (5) Heraclides of Pontus called Hyperboreans; a ſufficient indication of their Northern extraction. But as to the meaning of the word, I think we are ſtill in the dark: for no one can believe, that they deſcended from (6) Celtus ſon of Hercules by Celtina daughter of king Bretannus, or from (7) Celtus ſon of Polyphemus the Cyclops and Galatea; and no deſcendant of Noah has as yet been produced to countenance an etymology. Only (8) Gomer is ſaid to be their founder, as (9) Magog of the northern Scythians. I think it cannot be determined, whether the

(1) Μηνύει δὲ καὶ Εφορος τὴν παλαιὰν περὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας δόξαν, ὅς φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης λόγῳ, τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, τόπων εἰς Τέσσαρα μέρη διηρημένων, τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἀπηλιώτην Ἴνδους ἔχειν· πρὸς νότον δὲ Αἰθίοπας· πρὸς δύσιν δὲ Κέλτους· πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον Σκύθας. Strabo Lib. I. pag. 34.

(2) Τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης κλίμα νενευκότες τῷ τῆς Σκυθίας μέρει. S. Epiphan. ubi ſupra pag. 15. Not.

(3) Ἓν μὲν πρὸς Βορρὰν καὶ Λίβα τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης κείμενον, τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κελτογαλατίαν ὃ δὴ κοινῶς Εὐρώπην καλοῦμεν. Quadripart. Lib. II. c. 2.

(4) Οὐψὲ δέ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησε. Κελτοὶ γὰρ κατά τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠνομάζοντο. Pauſan. Attic. pag. 6. Ed. Sylb.

(5) Vid. Plutarch. in Camillo.

(6) Vid. Parthen. Nic. Amat. c. 30. Diodor. Lib. V.

(7) Vid. Appian. Bell. Illyric.

(8) Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ νῦν ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Γαλάτας καλουμένους, Γαμαρεῖς δὲ λεγομένους, Γόμαρος ἔκτισε. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. I.

(9) Μαγώγης δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μαγώγας ὀνομασθέντας ᾤκησε· Σκύθας δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν [Græcis] προσαγορευομένους. Idem Antiqu. Lib. I.

Celtæ,

Celtæ, or Celto-Scythæ, were cotemporary with the Cimmerians, or perhaps before them in their migrations; nor whether they were only Cimmerians, who assumed that name after their settlements in Europe. If they brought it with them from Asia, they should seem to be the first, distinguished by a proper name, who dispersed themselves over these Western parts.

The first Gods, or Titans, were Scythians.

A late learned and ingenious (1) author brings this people originally from the higher Asia; and has given them a most prodigious empire, extending almost from one end of Europe to the other, and containing besides immense territories in Asia and Africa. He with some reason fixes the centre of this empire in Greece, and the Isles of the Mediterranean: and further proves, that Uranus or Cœlus, Saturn, and Jupiter, the first deities of the Greeks, were no imaginary beings; but the true names of Celtic Emperors, who were likewise known by the more general one of Titans. The Titans indeed, in strict propriety of speech, were the offspring of Cœlus and his sister Terra, Titæa Τιτωία, *Tit*, or *Tid*, in Hebrew and Scythian signifying *Earth*; whence they are called Γηγενεῖς, *Gigantes*, *Terrigenæ*, or *Sons of the Earth*; and, I suppose, were what both Greeks and Romans meant by Αὐτόχθονες, *Indigenæ*, and *Aborigines*. Because they had no knowledge of any people before them: and therefore called them the (2) parents of mankind. This opinion has

(1) Dr Pezron. Antiquities of Nations.

(2) Αὐτος καὶ πρεσβύτερον Γενέην —— Arati Phœnom. v. 16.
Οἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέραν γῆν τὸν Τιτᾶνας φασίν. Schol. in loc.
Ἐξ ὑμέων γὰρ πᾶσα πέλει γῆ καὶ κόσμος. Orph. Hymnus in Titanes.

been

been controverted by ſeveral writers, and particularly by a very learned (1) one of our own nation; who ſuppoſes the Titans to have been Phenicians, or Egyptians, the poſterity of Ham, and not of Japhet.

The Phenician and Egyptian Antiquities.

The Phenician and Egyptian antiquities have afforded men of more refined imagination, an opportunity of diſplaying abundance of curious knowledge. And yet, at the ſame time a common underſtanding may perceive, that the hiſtorical records of both thoſe ancient nations could go no higher than Uranus, Saturn, and the Titans; whoſe actions are likewiſe the firſt events mentioned in Grecian hiſtory. But when we conſider the turn and humour of thoſe nations; the pride they took in (2) arrogating to their ſeveral countries the origin of human race, as well as of all arts and ſciences; we need not wonder at their claiming the firſt Gods or Heroes, of whom there was any memory, or tradition. I think it cannot be denied, that theſe Gods reigned over all thoſe countries; but it is not certain that they were born in any of them. The Egyptians and Phenicians, it muſt be owned, are not ſo eaſily detected in their pretenſions as the Greeks; who by the many exploits attributed to their ſeveral Gods and Heroes, diſcover, that though they often went by one name, yet they muſt have been different perſons, and lived in very different times; and I

(1) Jackſon's Chronological Antiquities. Vol. 3. pag. 76.

(2) Μήτηρ Αἴγυπτος προτερηγενέων αἰζηῶν. Apollon. Arg. Lib. 4. v. 268. Vide Sanchoniathon Phœnic. Hiſt. apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. Diodor. Sic. Hiſt. Lib. I.

believe the oldeſt of them will always be found to have been Barbarians or Scythians.

The Gods claimed by all nations.

It is a thing very well deſerving our notice, that ſome of the moſt polite nations in all ages have valued themſelves upon being deſcended from Scythian conquerors. Thus the Indian Moguls at preſent boaſt of their deſcent from Tamerlane: almoſt all the (1) Royal Families of Europe claim kindred with the Goths: and we may ſee by our own (2) hiſtory how careful the Saxon princes were to trace up their ſeveral pedigrees to Woden. The Greeks, Phenicians, and Egyptians, did the ſame thing, only with this difference; They would have it thought, that the Gods were natives of their reſpective countries; and I make no doubt, but each one had as good a right to them as the other. Either therefore they did not (3) know, or were (4) unwilling to tell, from whence the Gods came;

(1) Vide Heilrich Zeellii Genealogiam inſignium Europæ Imperatorum, Regum, Principum, a Gothis deducta. Regiomont. 1563. 8vo.

(2) Annales Saxon. Aſſer Menevenſis. Ingulfus. Florentinus Vigorn. Will. Malmes. &c.

(3) Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐγένετο ἕκαστος τῶν Θεῶν, εἴτε δ' αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὁκοῖτε τε τινὲς τὰ εἴδεα, οὐκ ἐπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρίν τε καὶ χθὲς, ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Herodot. Lib. II. §. 53.

(4) To diſguiſe and conceal the true nature, origin, and hiſtory, of the Gods, ſeems to me to have been the chief deſign of all the Egyptian myſteries, that have made ſo much noiſe in the world; and the Greeks, and other nations copied, and enlarged the plan. Euhemerus the Meſſenian was the firſt, who dared to divulge the ſecret; and taught that the Gods were mortal men deified, Generals, Admirals, and Kings: but he only got the name of Atheiſt for his pains. Εὐημέρου τοῦ Μεσσηνίου φενακισμοῖς παρρησίαν διδόντες, ὃς αὐτὸς ἀντίγραφα συνθεὶς ἀπίστου καὶ ἀνυπέρκτου μυθολογίας, πάσαν Ἀθεότητα κατασκεδάννυσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, τοὺς νομιζομένους Θεοὺς πάντας ὁμαλῶς διαγράφων, εἰς ὄνομα Στρατηγῶν καὶ Ναυάρχων καὶ Βασιλέων. Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride. Ennius tranſlated the *Sacred Hiſtory* of Euhemerus into Latin, which is now loſt, but quoted by Tully, Varro, Pliny, Joſephus, Lactantius, Minucius Felix, and others.

for

for it was impoſſible that they ſhould be born in ſo many different places.

Uranus King of the Atlantians.

But the Greeks, Phenicians, and Egyptians were not the only people, who boaſted that their country was the birth-place of the Gods; for the (1) Atlantians, mentioned by Diodorus, put in the ſame claim; and their account ſeems to me the moſt authentic of any, and that from which the reſt were borrowed. "The Atlantians ſaid, that the "Gods were born among them; and that Uranus their "firſt King had by ſeveral women Fourty Five children, "Eighteen of which were by Titæa, each having his pro-"per name, but from their mother called Titans. — and "that Uranus had almoſt the whole world under his do-"minion, eſpecially the Northern and Weſtern parts." By which laſt words ſhould ſeem to be meant, at leaſt all Europe with northern Aſia; and this includes the Scythians, who were never (2) ſubdued by any other people. If ſo, Uranus was a Scythian prince, and probably a greater potentate, than either Tamerlane, or Gengizchan; tho' by (3) length of time, and the pretenſions of ſo many dif-

(1) Ατλάντιοι —— τὼ δὲ γῆσιν ὑπ' Θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γῆσθαι φασὶ —— μυθολογῶσι δὲ πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς Οὐρανὸν βασιλεῦσαι —— κατακτήσαντ ἀ' αὐτὸν τ οἰκουμ ν τὼ πλείσην, κ μάλισα τὸς πρὸς τὼ Ἑσπέραν κ τ Ἄρκτον τόπους. —— Οὐρανὸ δὲ μυθολογῶσι γῆσθ παῖδας ἐκ πλειόνων γυναικῶν πέντε πρὸς τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα· κ τόπων ὄκτω κ δέκα λέγουσιν ἐκ Τιτάιας, ὄνομα μ ἴδιον ἔχοντας ἑκάστους, κοιν ὃ πάντας ἀπ τ μητρὸς ὀνομαζομ ους Τιτᾶνας. Diodor. Lib. III. p. 133.

(2) *Imperium Aſiæ ter quæſivere Scythæ, ipſi perpetuo ab alieno imperio aut intacti, aut invicti manſere.* Juſtin. Hiſt. Lib. II. *Getæ ſunt qui & nunc Gothi, quos Alexander evitandos pronuntiavit, Pyrrhus exhorruit, Cæſar declinavit.* Oroſ. Lib. I. c. 12.

(3) Ὧν τὰ μ ὀνόματα σέσωσται, τὰ δὲ ἔργα, χρόν τ πολλ παραλαμβανόντων φθορᾶς, κ τ μικρὰ τ χρόνων, ἀφανίδη. Plato in Critia. p. 109. Ed. Serran.

ferent nations, his hiſtory is quite obſcured, and loſt in fable.

Who the Atlantians were.

Who theſe Atlantians were, it may be worth while to enquire. The ancient geographers afford us no light in the caſe; and Diodorus does not inform us from whence he had his relation. He took them to be an African people dwelling near mount Atlas; but ſeems to have been deceived by the ſimilitude of names, or by ſome fabulous traditions. He has fortunately told us, that the Amazons were their neighbours; which perhaps induced him to believe, that the oldeſt of that name too were Africans. But if ever there were any ſuch people as the Amazons, from all the accounts that are left, they muſt have been a Northern nation. We hear of them as early as the Titan war, and the ſiege of Troy; and their actions ſeem to be limited to the Northern parts of Aſia and Europe. And Diodorus's own account of his African Amazons, and their wars with the Thracians, is enough to perſwade us that they were Scythians. It might happen, that in ſome particular Scythian ſtates, the ſovereign power ſometimes devolved upon a female; or might be (1) legally lodged in that ſex. But the moſt probable opinion is, that the Amazons were only the wives and daughters of Scythian warriours, who fought as well as their fathers, huſbands and brothers; a cuſtom not extinct even in the

(1) See Sir John Chardin's Travels. Engl. Fol. Lond. 1687. pag. 188. *Primi Mæotidæ* Γυναικοκρατούμενοι, *regna Amazonum.* Pomp. Mela. Lib. I. c. 22. *Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cætera ſimiles, uno differunt, quod Fœmina dominatur.* Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

time

time of (1) Mithridates, nor to this day: but that they were a ſeparate ſtate of women, is no better than a fable.

The Atlantic Iſland, and Sea.

The Atlantians hiſtory of their king Uranus, has all the appearance of truth, tho' it is ſupported only by fable. (2) Plato has preſerved an old Egyptian rumour concerning the great Atlantic Iſland; by which undoubtedly was meant the country of the Atlantians. He ſays it was as large as Aſia and Libya, whence (3) ſome have imagined that it was the New World, or America; tho' he adds, that it was ſwallowed up in one day by the Ocean, and was never ſince to be found; this indeed looks a little ſuſpicious. Plato took the whole ſtory from the poems of Solon, who learnt it from the Egyptian prieſts. But as the Egyptians were a people of fertile imagination, the (4) authors of Fable; whatever hiſtory the Greeks received from them, was, as I preſume, all perverted in this manner. I can collect no more from this incredible ſtory, than that the Egyptians deſignedly confounded the

(1) After the flight of Mithridates; among the captives, and hoſtages ſent by the Albanians and Iberians to Pompey, there were found a great number of women, who had received as many wounds, as the men. Πολλαὶ δὲ ἐν τε τοῖς ὁμήροις καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις εὑρέθησ Γυναῖκες ὀ μείονα τ̃ ἀνδρῶν τραύματα ἔχουσαι· καὶ ἐδόκουν Αμαζόνες εἶ)· εἰ τε τὶ ἔθνος ὀξὺν αὐτοῖς γειτονεῦον αἱ Αμαζόνες, εἰ τε τινὰς πολεμικὰς ὅλως Γυναῖκας οἱ τῇ δὲ βάρβαροι καλοῦσιν Αμαζόνας. Appian. Bell. Mithrid. pag. 242. Ed. Steph. Modern travellers, who treat of the countries on the North and Eaſt ſides of the Caſpian ſea, unanimouſly agree that the Tartar women go to war with the men, and armed in the ſame manner. Baſilius Batatzi in his Greek map of the Caſpian ſea, printed at London 1730, ſays he ſaw two warriour virgins of the Caſac country, who had been taken priſoners by the Bucharians, inhumanly put to death in cold blood. Vid. Art. 4.

(2) In his Timæus and Critias.

(3) Mercator, Sanſon, Joh. de Laet. Not. ad Hug. Grot. Orig. Gent. American. p. 70. Horn. Orig. Gent. Americ. Lib. 2. c. 6.

(4) Αλληγορεῖν εὕρημα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Tzetzes Allegor.

hiſtory

hiſtory of the Gods; and that this country owed its deſtruction more to their prieſts, than to the encroachments of the Sea. I am therefore of opinion that the Atlantic Iſland, as it is called, was then and ſtill is in being; tho' I cannot entirely agree with the learned (1) Olaus Rudbeck, who from a laudable partiality to his native country, has taken a great deal of pains to prove that Sweden was the place. I ſo far agree with him, That the Atlantians could not be inhabitants of Africa, notwithſtanding the names of the mountain, and of the ſea that waſhes that coaſt; nor yet can I think that they were of Europe; but of Aſia, and far remote from Scandinavia eaſtward. The Atlantic ſea might be denominated from a people, and that people from a man. Atlas is a Northern name; the firſt, of whom we have any knowledge, was the famous Aſtronomer, and (2) general of the Titan army againſt Jupiter; the ſame who is thought to have given name to the mountain. But (3) Apollodorus, correcting thoſe authors who wrote before him concerning the Heſperides, directs us to look for Atlas, not in Libya, but among the Hyperboreans: and (4) others, who place him not ſo far North, allot him a ſeat on mount Caucaſus, with his brother Prometheus. The Atlantides, or Atlantians, were his deſcendants as all (5) authors are agreed;

(1) Vide Atlantica. Par. I. Cap. 7.

(2) *Atlanti autem, qui Dux eorum* [Titanum] *fuit, cæli fornicem ſuper humeros impoſuit, qui adhuc dicitur cælum ſuſtinere.* Hygin. Fab. CL.

(3) Ταῦτα ὃ ἦν, ἐχ' ὡς τινες εἶπον, ἐν Λιβύῃ, ἀλλ' ὅπῃ ἦ Ἄτλαντος ἐν Ὑπερβορέοις. Bibl. Lib. II. c. 4. §. 10. p. 117. Ed. Gale.

(4) Ἄτλας γένεται βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νῦν Ἀρκαδίᾳ· ὤκει ὃ περὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Καυκάσιον ὄρος. Dionyſ. Halic. Ant. Rom. Lib. I. p. 49.

(5) Diodorus Siculus, Lib. III. Apollodorus, Lib. III. c. 10.

and

and this was their family name, like that of the Titans. As Atlas was a man of ſcience, and (1) ſaid to be the firſt who made a veſſel, and navigated the Seas; I make no queſtion, that he firſt gave name to the Atlantic Sea; but this name was anciently of more general ſignification than at preſent; meaning the Sea that encompaſſed the whole earth, and was (2) called by the northern people The Ocean; by the ſouthern Aſiatics The Great Sea; and by the Greeks the Atlantic and External Sea; to diſtinguiſh it from the inland ſeas, Caſpian, Euxine and Mediterranean; comprehending all other ſeas however now denominated, Hyperborean, Scythian, German, Britiſh, Indian &c. The name took its riſe in the North or North Eaſt; and I ſuſpect that (3) Pliny's *Mare Amalchium* of Hecatæus, was the True *Mare Atlanticum* of the Titans; and the Sea that firſt began to be ſo called. When all

(1) Ἄτλας ὁ Λίβυς πρῶτος Ναῦν ἐναυπηγήσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔπλευσε. Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. I.

Ἄτλαντος δυσφρονος οὐλομενοιο θαλάσσης
Πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δὲ τε κίονας αὐτὸς
Μακρὰς, αἳ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν. Homer. Odyſ. A. v. 52.

(2) ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ. Ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ περιέχων τὴν γῆν. Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τῇ Παντοδαπῇ Ἱστορίᾳ· Περιηγορεύουσι δὲ τὴν Ἔξω Θάλασσαν ἐκεῖνον μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς βαρβάρων Ὠκεανόν. Οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντες Μεγάλην Θάλασσαν· Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες Ἀτλαντικὸν Πέλαγος. Stephanus de Urb. *Omnis enim Terra quæ colitur a vobis anguſta verticibus, lateribus latior, quædam eſt inſula circumfuſa illo mari, quod Athlanticum, quod Magnum, quem Oceanum appellatis in terris.* Somn. Scip. apud Macrob. Lib. II. c. 5. Ἡ οἰκουμένη κύκλῳ περιρρεῖται ὑπὸ Ὠκεανοῦ. Strabo Lib. 2. Ἡ δὲ Μεγάλη Θάλασσα, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην περιρρέουσα κενῷ μὲν ὀνόματι Ὠκεανὸς καλεῖται, κατ' ἀλήθειαν δὲ ἄφορος ἔχει ἐπωνυμίας. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἄρκτοις πᾶς μὲν Ἀρκτικὸς καὶ Βόρειος λέγεται. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἀνατολικώτερον Σκυθικὸς Ὠκεανὸς, τὸ δυτικώτερον Γερμανικός τε καὶ Βρεταννικὸς καλεῖται. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἔξω σύμπας καὶ Κρόνιον πέλαγος καὶ Πηγὰς, καὶ Νεκρὰς, ἐπωνομάζεται. Agathem. Geogr. Lib. II. p. 244. Ed. Gron.

(3) *Septentrionalis Oceanus, Amalchium eum Hecatæus appellat a Paropamiſo amne, qua Scythiam alluit, quod nomen ejus gentis lingua ſignificat Congelatum.* Plin. Hiſt. Lib. IV. c. 13.

know-

knowledge of the Northern hiſtory and geography was loſt among the Greeks, and arts and ſciences ſpread more ſouthward; that part only of the great Ocean, meaſured from the Britiſh iſles to the Equator, retained the old name of Atlantic. (1)

Uranus depoſed by the Titans.

The Titans on account of the wrongs done to their mother Titæa, and perhaps to themſelves, agreed to (2) depoſe their father Uranus: which when they had effected, Saturn the (3) youngeſt, but moſt cunning, of them all, aſſumed the empire, upon certain conditions agreed upon between him and his eldeſt brother Titan. The common (4) tradition is, that Titan bound Saturn by an oath, to deſtroy all his male iſſue; that the empire after his deceaſe might return to the race of Titan: whence came the fable of Saturn's devouring his children. But the chief article, as I conjecture, was an equal diviſion of the provinces among them; which not being duly performed, from thence enſued all thoſe Titan wars with the Gods; or with thoſe who took part with Saturn and his ſon Jupiter.

(1) Here, I cannot but offer a conjecture upon a ſmall reading in Lactantius, relating to the laſt end of Uranus king of the Atlantians. *Cui igitur ſacrificare Jupiter potuit niſi Cœlo avo? quem dicit Euhemerus in Oceano mortuum, & in oppido* Aulatia *ſepultum.* De Falſ. Relig. Lib. I. §. 11. For *Aulatia*, I would here read *Atlantia*; tho' the ſituation of the one is no more known, than of the other.

(2) Sanchoniath. Phœnic. Hiſt. apud Euſeb. Apollodor. Lib. I. p. 2. Ed. Gale. Heſiod. Theogonia. v. 164. &c.

(3) Τὸς δὲ μεθ' ὁπλότατος γένετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης
Δεινότατος παίδων. Heſiod. Theog. v. 137.

(4) Ὅρκους δ' αὖτε Κρόνῳ μεγάλους Τιτὰν ἐπίθηκε,
Μὴ θρέψ' ἄρσενα, καὶ παίδων γένος, ὡς βασιλεύσῃ
Αὐτὸς, ὅταν γηράς τε Κρόνῳ καὶ μοῖρα πέληται.
Sibyllin. Orac. Lib. III. p. 227. Ed. Obſop.

Saturn

Saturn reigned over the Weſtern parts.

Saturn, who on the diſmembering of the Titan empire, is ſaid to have reigned over the (1) Weſtern parts, ſeems to have taken not only more than his ſhare, but the moſt rich and fruitful countries; ſuch as the continents lying upon the Mediterranean, Syria, Egypt, Greece with the iſles, Italy, Gaul, Spain &c. By this ſituation he had the advantage of Shipping, which perhaps the other Titans wanted, and were not acquainted with, for the art does not appear to have been then long found out; and by this means became more than a match for them.

The Titans kept poſſeſſion of the Northern.

The Titans ſeem to have kept poſſeſſion of the (2) Northern parts, and to have made ſeveral attempts to recover the others; and ſometimes not without ſucceſs, as is plainly intimated by the (3) flight of the Gods into Egypt; till after a (4) ten years ſtruggle, or more, they were in the end entirely ſubdued by Jupiter. In the Northern parts therefore, if any where, I think we may expect to find them. The Titans and their offspring are deſcribed as men of gigantic ſtature; and this has always

(1) Φασὶ τὸν Κρόνον κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν, καὶ Λιβύην, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν· καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν τόποις συνήκαθαι τὴν βασιλείαν. Diodor. Lib. III. p. 136. Vid. etiam Lib. V.

(2) When the Titans were worſted in the war with the Gods, they retreated to the great and well fortified cave called Cira in the country of the Getes, as is reported by Dion Caſſius. Ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ Κείρων καλούμενον ἐσφυγεύσατο. [Craſſus] Τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστον τε ἅμα καὶ ὀχυρώτατον τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐς αὐτὸ, μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Θεῶν δὴ σφίσι γενομένην, συγκαταφυγεῖν μυθεύεσθαι. Hiſt. Rom. Lib. 51. p. 530.

(3) Apollodor. Lib. I. c. 6. Ovid. Metamorph. Lib. V. Antoninus Liberalis Metamorph. c. 28.

(4) Σὺν τοῖς ἐμάχοντο δέκα πλείους τ' ἐνιαυτούς. Heſiod. Theog. v. 636. Μαχομένων ὧν αὐτῶν ἐνιαυτοὺς δέκα. Apollod. Lib. I. c. 6.

been a principal (1) character of the Scythians, whether under the denomination of (2) Celtes, or (3) Cimbrians. The Hyperboreans were of the Titan race, according to the poet (4) Pherenicus: (5) Titan himſelf gave name to the Cimmerian Boſphorus, if we may believe the oldeſt traditions: the Thracians, who were undoubtedly of Scythian extraction, are called by a Thracian, or one who perſonated a Thracian poet, the (6) deſcendants of the Titans: and the ſcene of ſome of the Titan battles was in Thrace. If we deſcend to the Grecian mortal kings, or to thoſe who came after the Gods; we ſhall find that Deucalion, one of the firſt, if not the very firſt, was a Titan king; for he was the ſon of (7) Prometheus a Titan, the ſon of Japetus brother of Saturn; and conſequent-

(1) *Ultra Tanaim amnem colentes Scythas, quorum neminem adeo humilem eſſe, ut humeri ejus non poſſent Macedonis militis verticem æquare.* Quint. Curtius Hiſt. Lib. VII. c. 4.

(2) Εἶσι ὑ οἱ Κέλτοι μαχρῷ πάντας ὑπερηκότες μήκει τὸς ἀνθρώπους. Pauſan. in Phocic. Pag. 647. Ed. Sylb.

(3) Καὶ μάλιστα μὲ εἰκάζοντο [Cimbri] Γερμάνικα γένη τ καθηκόντων ὀπὶ τ βόρειον ὠκεανον ἔτι τοῖς μεγέθεσι τ σωμάτων. Plutarch. in Mario.

(4) Τὸς Ὑπερβορέους, τ Τιτανικᾶ γένος Φερένικος φησὶν εἶναι, γεγόφων ὕπως.

Ἀμφὶ δ' Ὑπερβορέων, οἵτ' ἔκμτα ναιετάουσι
Ναῷ ὑπ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπείρητοι πολέμοιο.
Τὸς μὲ ἄρα πρεσβυτέρων ἐξ αἵματος ὑμνίζουσι
Τιτλώων βλαστόντας, ὑπὸ δρόμον αἰθρήεντα
Πάσασθαι Βορέαο γόνῳ Αειμασσὸν ἄνακτα. Schol. in Pind. Olymp. III.

(5) —— ΒΟΟΣ ΠΟΡΟΝ ἐξικόμεσθα
Λίμνης, ὅντε μεσηγὺ βοοκλόπος ἔποτε TITAN
Ταύρῳ ἐφιζήμενος βειαρῷ πόρον ἔκρσε λίμνης. Orph. Argon. v 1054.

(6) Τιτλῶες Γαίης τὲ καὶ Οὐρανῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα
Ημετέρων πρόγονοι πατέρων. Orph. Hymn. in Titan.

(7) Ἐν ᾧ πυρφόρῳ θεὸς
Τίτας Προμηθεύς. Sophocl. Œdip. Colon.
—— Ἔνθα Προμηθεὺς
Ιαπετονίδης ἀγαθὸν τέκε Δευκαλίωνα. Apollon. Arg. Lib. 3.

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ly only two generations removed from the true Titans. This vaſt antiquity has render'd his hiſtory as obſcure as that of the Gods, for it has never yet been made clear; the Greeks having perplexed it with another of the ſame name, who muſt have lived long after him. The firſt Deucalion however was a (1) Scythian; and that there were other Titans among the Scythians, will be ſeen hereafter. At preſent our buſineſs with the Titans goes no further than Europe. How largely they were intereſted there, ſufficiently appears from what has been already mentioned of Uranus and Saturn; and is further confirmed by the victories of Jupiter, who ſubdued the Titans from (2) Pallene in Thrace, to (3) Tarteſſus in the fartheſt boundaries of Spain.

The Titan language univerſal in Europe.

It is more than probable, that (4) one common language once prevailed over all Europe; nor can any other period be aſſigned for an univerſal language, than this of the Titan empire. The remains of ſuch a language are ſtill found in various parts

(1) Οἱ μὲν ὦν πολλοὶ Δευκαλίωνα τὸν Σκύθεα τὸ ἱερὸν εἴσασθαι λέγουσι· τοῦτον Δευκαλίωνα ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸ πολλὸν ὕδωρ ἐγένετο. Lucian de Dea Syria.

(2) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ περὶ τὴν Παλλήνην Γιγάντων ἑλομένων τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀθανάτους πόλεμον Ἡρακλῆς τοῖς θεοῖς συναγωνισάμενος, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελῶν τῶν Γηγενῶν ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχεν τῆς μεγίστης. Diodor. Lib. V. p. 222.

(3) Διὸς μεταστήσαντος τὸν πατέρα Κρόνον τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεῶν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος, Γίγαντες, οἱ Γῆς παῖδες ἀγανακτήσαντες, ἐν Ταρτησῷ (πόλις δέ ἐστιν αὕτη παρὰ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ) μέγαν κατὰ Διὸς πόλεμον παρεσκεύαζον. Ζεὺς δὲ συναντήσας αὐτοῖς, καταγωνίζεται πάντας. Καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἔρεβος τῷ πατρὶ Κρόνῳ τὸν τούτων βασίλειαν παραδίδωσιν. Didym. Schol. in Iliad. Θ. v. 479. *Saltus vero Tartheſiorum, in quibus Titanas bellum adverſus Deos geſſiſſe proditur, incoluere Curetes.* Juſtin. Hiſt. Lib. 44. §. 4.

(4) *Inachus Oceani filius, ex Archia ſorore ſua procreavit Phoroneum, qui primus mortalium dicitur regnaſſe. Homines ante ſæcula multa ſine oppidis legibuſque vitam exegerunt,* una lingua loquentes, *ſub Jovis imperio.* Hygin. Fab. 143.

of Europe; and thoſe parts are clearly corners, and hiding places, where people having no commerce but with themſelves, it was ſecured from the inroads of later languages. Such are the mountains of Biſcay, the retreat of the old Cantabrian; which is ſtill preſerved entire in ſpight of all the conqueſts that kingdom has undergone from Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Moors. The old Gallic gave way to the Teutonic, but is ſtill ſpoken in Armorica, or Baſs Bretany. The Britiſh ſunk under the Roman yoak; and would have been utterly extirpated by the Saxons, had it not taken refuge in Wales and Cornwal; in which laſt place it is now almoſt extinct. The Highlands of Scotland, and the numerous iſles upon that coaſt, are ſo many barriers of this ancient language; and above all Ireland, where it is thought to be preſerved moſt uncorrupt: at leaſt I have reaſon to think, that the (1) Iriſh agrees

(1) The reader I believe will be pleaſed with a curious anecdote, which I ſometime ſince received from a moſt learned and worthy friend, the Reverend Mr John Reynolds Canon of Exeter, and Fellow of Eaton College. *Eaton Jan.* 22. 1755. — "In my middle age, at a particular friend's houſe, "I found a near relation of his, one Mr Hutchins of Frome, juſt come into "England out of Spain from Bilboa, where he had belonged to the Factory "the better part of Twenty years; who among other things told us; That "while he was there, ſometime after the Proteſtants became intire maſters "of Ireland, there came over to Bilboa an Iriſh Roman Catholic prieſt, that "knew neither Engliſh, nor Spaniſh. When the perſon, to whom he was "recommended, being at a loſs what to do, brought him to the Engliſh "Factory; to ſee if any one there underſtood Iriſh, but to no purpoſe: till "ſome Mountain Biſcainers, that uſed Bilboa Market, coming to the houſe "where he lodged, and talking together, were perfectly underſtood by Him: "and on his accoſting them in Iriſh, he was as well underſtood by Them; "to the great ſurprize of all that knew it, as well Spaniards as Engliſh. The "narratour of this fact in his own knowledge, I am ſatisfied, was too ſenſi-"ble to be impoſed on himſelf, and too honeſt to impoſe on others; and as "he was no ſcholar, he had no hypotheſis to ſerve. And the matter of fact "itſelf is, as I take it, ſo conſiderable in regard to Britiſh antiquities, that "it

the neareſt with the old Cantabrian. Theſe all differ from each other a little in dialect, but by undeniable marks appear to have ſprung from one common root, and That a ſiſter dialect of the (1) Hebrew. Antiquaries are ſufficiently juſtified in calling theſe dialects Celtic, becauſe they are the firſt known language in Europe or Celtica. Perhaps they may deſerve a much higher title, namely that of the Univerſal Language of the poſtdiluvian world. For, beſides their affinity to the Hebrew, (2) authors find that their remains ſtill exiſt in the moſt diſtant parts of the

"it were pity it ſhould be buried in oblivion; and therefore I am glad of "this opportunity of communicating it to you."—What now muſt we think of a certain great maſter of languages? *Not one ſingle word*, ſays he, *of the Iriſh tongue agrees with the Cantabrian or Biſcaian, which is the true old Spaniſh.* Hiſtory of Druids. Pag. 133. That great genius Mr Edw. Lhuyd, was of a quite different opinion: for he has given us a hundred Iriſh words, that agree with the Biſcayan; and could have added many more, but for want of room. See Arch. Britan. Oxon. 1707. At Y Kymry, or Pref. to the Welſh. *How cautious ſhould we be, of relying too much on the bold aſſertions of Critics or Antiquaries!* Nazarenus. Par. 2. pag. 8.

(1) Vid. D. Joh. Davies Præf. ad Grammat. Cambro-Britan. Lond. 1621. Et ejuſdem Præf. ad Dictionar. Cambro-Britan. Lond. 1632. Rowland Mona Antiq. Reſtaur. Dublin. 1722. Sect. VI. & Pag. 275, 276, 289.

(2) See an *Eſſay on the Antiquities of Britain and Ireland, by the Reverend Mr David Malcolm. Edingb.* 1738. This Eſſay was publiſhed by way of Specimen and Propoſals, in ſeveral detached pieces, or Letters. Having heard nothing of it ſince, I ſuppoſe the author did not meet with proper encouragement, and therefore never compleated his deſign. Mr Malcolm obſerves that the inhabitants of St Kilda, the moſt weſtern Iſle of Scotland, have a dialect near akin to the Chineſe language. From a ſhort vocabulary of Indian words, correſponding with the Highland Scotch, which Mr Wafer has given us in his *Deſcription of the Iſthmus of Darien*, pag. 186, 187, 188, he likewiſe concludes that the Darien language was the ſame as the Celtic. And if we may believe our news writers, who ſeem to deliver it upon good authority; The Soldiers of the Highland Regiment, lately ſent to North America, were received by the Savages as brethren and countrymen, upon account of *Their Garb, Manners, and a ſurprizing agreement in their Speech.*

Old

Old World, from the ſunriſing to the fartheſt Weſt; as alſo in America.

The Finnic and Lapponian Language.

We ſaid before, that the Northern and Eaſtern parts of Europe were the firſt that received inhabitants; and therefore if there is any language, now ſubſiſting, more ancient than the Celtic, I think it muſt be that of the Finns and Laplanders; who might be deſcendants of thoſe firſt inhabitants, driven by new colonies to the extremities of that cold climate; for it is not likely that they ſettled there by choice. (1) Some have thought their languages a little different from each other; none have as yet diſcovered any affinity between them and the Celtic; and all agree, that they differ from the Gothic. But if the Finnic abounds with Greek words, as (2) Stiernhelm affirms, I conjecture, that its original was the ſame as the Gothic.

Jupiter's Victory over the Titans.

The Titan war has hitherto been treated in the light of fable and allegory, but demands a ſtricter ſcrutiny in this inquiſitive age; as being the moſt ancient, and moſt memorable event in all profane hiſtory. It was the great theme of the firſt European (3) bards, and furniſhed

(1) Vid. Jo. Scheffer. Lapponia Cap. XV.

(2) *In Finnonica incredibile quam multæ voces Græcæ reperiantur. Unde mihi orta ſuſpicio, Gentem Finnonicam ex gente aliqua Græcis coloniis mixta, jam olim multis abhinc ſæculis, originem traxiſſe. Finnonicæ dialecti ſunt Eſthonica & Lapponica.* Præf. in Evang. Septentrion.

(3) Οἶδα ὅτι ὁ τὰ TITANOMAXIAN ποιήσας εἴτ' Εὐμηλός ἐστιν ὁ Κοεόνδιος, εἴτ' Ἀρκτῖνος. Athenæus. Lib. VII. Arctinus and Eumelus flouriſhed about the beginning of the Olympiads: but there was a much older poet who wrote upon the ſame ſubject, viz. Thamyris the Thracian, mentioned by Homer, Iliad. B. v. 595. ΘΑΜΥΡΙΝ θ' ὃ τὸ πρῶτος Θρῇκα, ὑφωνότερον καὶ ἐμμελέστερον πάντων τότε ᾄσαι ὡς τ' Μέστως,

deſigns for the moſt ancient (1) ſculptors and painters of Greece; till it was eclipſed by the war of Troy, and the immortal work of Homer. This war was carried on with vigour on both ſides for many years, and during the conteſt, the Titans had once got Saturn into their power; and detained him till he was (2) reſcued by Jupiter, ſcarce then arrived to man's eſtate.

Cabiric Myſteries the firſt Idolatry of Greece.

From this firſt victory of Jupiter, if I am not deceived, aroſe the firſt religious rites of Greece; which were celebrated in ſuch a manner, that

Μέσαις, κατὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς, εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστῆναι· πεποικέναι δὲ τοῦτον ἱστορεῖται ΤΙΤΑΝΩΝ πρὸς τοὺς Θεοὺς πόλεμον. Plutarch De Muſica. The oldeſt poets celebrated, and claimed for theirs, by the Greeks, ſuch as Thamyris, Eumolpus, Linus, Orpheus, Muſæus, were all Thracians, who are ſcarce one degree removed from Scythians. There were, I think, later poets of all theſe names, excepting Thamyris only, whom I take to be the moſt ancient. His name ſounds like Scythian; and it is ſaid that he was in ſo great favour with the Scythians, on account of his poetry, as to be choſen their king. Θάμυριν ὃς ἡβήσας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἧκε κιθαρωδίας, ὡς καὶ Βασιλέα σφῶν, καίπερ ἐπήλυτον ὄντα, Σκύθας ποιήσασθαι. Conon. Narr. VII. Had the work of this *Sweet Singer* been preſerved to our times, it would certainly have given us a clearer light into Mythologic hiſtory, and a juſter notion of the firſt Greek poetry. And perhaps would have diſcovered, that Homer was not ſo great an original, as he is commonly taken to be. For Thamyris's Ten Years Wars of the Titans, might poſſibly be the Archetype of the war of Troy: and he himſelf, under the character of a blind bard, the very original picture of Homer. The Titanomachia likewiſe of Eumelus or Arctinus might be only a new edition of Thamyris in more modern Greek.

(1) *Ejuſdem clypei concava parte* (cœlavit Phidias) *Deorum & Gigantum dimicationem.* Plin. Hiſt. Lib. 36. c. 5. Αρχιτέκτονα μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τοῦ Ναοῦ [Junonis] λέγουσιν Ευπόλεμον Αργεῖον, ὁπόσα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς κίονας εἴργασμένα τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν Διὸς γένεσιν καὶ Θεῶν καὶ Γιγάντων μάχην ἔχει. Pauſan. Corinth. p. 114. Ed. Sylb.

(2) This particular is preſerved by Lactantius from Euhemerus's hiſtory now loſt. *Reliqua hiſtoria ſic contexitur: Jovem adultum, cum audiviſſet Patrem atque Matrem cuſtodiis circumſeptos, atque in vincula conjectos, veniſſe cum magna Cretenſium multitudine; Titanumque & filios ejus pugnando viciſſe: parentes vinculis exemiſſe: Patri regnum reddidiſſe: atque ita in Cretam remeaſſe.* De Falſa Rel. Lib. I.

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the Greeks themſelves ſcarce knew to what gods their worſhip was directed. Their proper names were concealed under the general one of CABIRI, and the rites were called the Cabiric Myſteries, inſtituted at firſt by the Pelaſgians in (1) Samothrace, from thence transferred to other (2) Iſlands, Lemnus, Imbrus, Rhodes and Crete; and carried by (3) Dardanus to mount Ida in Phrygia. Some (4) authors have endeavoured to prove that the Cabiric rites came originally from Phenicia; but after all the pains taken in this matter, I ſee no reaſon to think, that the Phenicians knew any thing at all of theſe myſteries, till they came with Cadmus into Greece. Cadmus was one of the firſt ſtrangers initiated into the myſteries; natives of Greece, or Samothrace only, having been admitted before that time. This favour was indulged to him, upon his marrying the princeſs Hermione, or Harmonia, ſiſter of (5) Jaſion and Dardanus; and the rites ſeem to

(1) Ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήϊκες ἐπιτελέουσι, παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν. Herod. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Τὴν Σαμοθρηΐκην οἴκεον πρότερον Πέλασγοι, παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήϊκες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. Idem cap. 51.

(2) *Prætereo Samothraciam, eaque*
Quæ Lemni
Nocturno aditu occulta coluntur. Cicero de Nat. Deorum Lib. I.

ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙ· Καρκίνοι, πάνυ δὲ τιμῶνται οὗτοι ἐν Λήμνῳ ὡς Θεοί. Heſychius. ΙΜΒΡΟΣ· νῆσος ἐστὶ Θρᾴκης ἱερὰ Καβείρων. Stephanus Byzant. de Urb. Μάλιστα ἐν Ἴμβρῳ τοὺς Καβείρους τιμᾶσθαι. Strabo Lib. X.

(3) Δάρδανος, ἐκ Σαμοθρᾴκης ἐλθὼν, ᾤκησεν ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ τῆς Ἴδης τὴν πόλιν Δαρδανίαν καλέσας, καὶ ἐδίδαξε τοὺς Τρώας τὰ ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκῃ μυστήρια. Strabo Lib. X.

(4) Vid. Bochart Canaan Lib. I. c. 15. Cumberland Orig. Gent. Ant. De Cabiris. Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, &c.

(5) Τὸν Δία βουληθέντα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν υἱῶν [Ιασίωνα] τιμῆς τυχεῖν, παραδεῖξαι αὐτῷ τὸν τῶν μυστηρίων τελετὴν, πάλαι μὲν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, τότε δὲ πῶς παραδοθεῖσθαι, ὧν οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαι πλὴν τῶν μεμυημένων. Δοκεῖ ἐστὶ πρῶτος ξένους μυῆσαι, καὶ τελετὴν διὰ τοῦτο ἔνδοξον ποιῆσαι. Μετὰ ταῦτα Κάδμον τὸν Αγήνορος κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς [Σαμοθρᾶκας] καὶ τῆς τελετῆς μετασχόντα γῆμαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ιασίονος Ἁρμονίαν. Diodor. Lib. V. p. 223.

have

have been given in dowry with her. The ſtory is very particular, and a ſort of key to fabulous hiſtory.

The marriage of Cadmus and Hermione.

"Jaſion, ſon of Jupiter and "Electra, was prince of Samos, "and High Prieſt of the Cabiric "myſteries: and this marriage of Cadmus and Hermione "was the firſt that was ſolemnized in the preſence of the "Gods; each according to cuſtom making their preſents "to the bride. (1) Ceres, who was in love with Jaſion, "gave Corn; Mercury an Harp; Minerva the celebrated "Necklace, Veil, and Pipes; Electra ſhewed them the my-"ſteries of Magna Mater; Apollo played upon his Harp; "the Muſes on their wind inſtruments; and the reſt of "the Gods with joint acclamations encreaſed the ſolemni-"ty of the nuptials." What is here reported of the Gods may be true in every particular; admitting only the Cabiric Prieſts and Prieſteſſes to be their proxies. Here we diſcover the original fraud of impoſing the prieſts upon us, inſtead of the Gods whom they repreſented: and learn, without a fiction, to account for the birth of Bacchus the ſon of Semele, and for the (2) reſentment which her father Cadmus expreſſed upon the occaſion.

(1) Τὸν δὲ γάμον τοῦτον πρῶτον δαῖσαι θεοὺς, καὶ Δήμητραν μὲν Ιασίονος ἐρασθεῖσαν τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ σίτου δωρήσασθαι· Ἑρμῆν δὲ λύραν· Αθηνᾶν δὲ τὸν διαβεβοημένον ὅρμον, καὶ πέπλουν καὶ αὐλούς· Ηλέκτραν δὲ τὰ τῆς Μεγάλης καλουμένης Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ, μετὰ κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων, καὶ ὀργιαζόντων· καὶ Απόλλωνα μὲν κιθαρίσαι· Τὰς δὲ Μούσας αὐλῆσαι· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Θεοὺς συνευφημοῦντας αὐξῆσαι τὸν γάμον. Diodor. Ibid.

(2) Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι [Braſiæ] λέγουσιν ἐνταῦθα οὐδέσιν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἑλλήνων· ὡς Σεμέλη τέκοι τὸν παῖδα ἐκ Διὸς, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάδμου φωραθεῖσα ἐς λάρνακα αὐτὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβληθείη. Pauſan. Lacon. Lib. 3. p. 209.

Cadmus's Cabiri in Bœotia.

Cadmus thus invested with the mysteries, (1) established a Tribe, or College, of priests in Bœotia, from whom descended the Gephyreans; and from the time of Jasion the rites grew common, and were dispersed by the Pelasgians over all Europe, as well as Asia, the genuine institution being still kept up in Samothrace. I must here observe, that Cadmus tho' called a king's son, seems to have been no better than an outlaw, and an apostate from the religion of his country: and what that country was, it is uncertain. By fortifying the citadel of Thebes, and by being master of the Cabiric mysteries, he intended no doubt to perpetuate his name, and to found a powerful state. But after reigning some time, he was forced to leave his kingdom, and probably died a violent death: himself with Harmonia being (2) reported to be turned into serpents.

The meaning of the word Cabiri.

The Scythian or Pelasgic language, merely from its antiquity, when dialects were few, and more homogeneous, could be but little different from the Hebrew; and therefore learned men have very properly sought for the original of the word CABIRI in the Hebrew. Scaliger, Selden, Vossius, Bochart, and others derive it from CABAR,

(1) Πόλιν γάρ ποτε ἐν τόπῳ φασὶν εἶδ, ἰῷ ἄνδρας ὀνομαζομένους ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΥΣ — Δήμητρ& γῆν ΚΑΒΕΙΡΑΙΟΙΣ δῶρόν ἔσαν ἡ τελετή. Pausan. Bœotic. p. 579. Those Bœotians whom Pausanias here calls *Cabiri* and *Cabireans*; Herodotus called *Gephyreans*, Γεφυραίους, and says they were descended from the Phenicians who came with Cadmus; that is, from the Cabiri, or Cadmus's priests of the mysteries. Οἱ ὦ ΓΕΦΥΡΑΙΟΙ — ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπυνθανόμενος εὑρίσκω, ἔσαν Φοίνικες τ& σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικομένων. Herodot. Lib.V. §. 57.

(2) Hygini Fab.VI. Ovid. Metam. Lib. IV.

Cabarim,

Cabarim, i. e. *Dii Magni*, or *Potentes*, Μεγάλοι καὶ δυνάτοι as they are ſometimes called by the Greeks: Reland more luckily from (1) CHABAR *Chabarim*, i. e. *Dii Socii*, *Juncti*, becauſe they are always mentioned in the plural number. But he ſeems not to have entered into the full ſenſe of the word, which ought to be rendered *Dii Conſociati*, *Conjurati*, or the *Allied Gods*. Eratoſthenes, as we learn from the (2) ſcholiaſt on Aratus, ſpeaking of the Altar, or Conſtellation in the Southern hemiſphere, ſaid "It was "That upon which the Gods took the oath of confedera-"cy, when Jupiter levied war againſt the Titans." Theſe Gods I take to be the perſons meant by CABIRI, who after the victory might juſtly be ſtiled *Great* and *Powerful*; or *The Gods*, by way of eminence. The firſt beginning of the rites ſeems to have been only a ſort of Triumph, a feſtival in memory of the victory, and inauguration of Jupiter; which as Idolatry grew up was made to ſerve the purpoſes of religion; and being diſperſed over diffe-

(1) *Sic ut meo judicio* Dii Cabiri *idem ſonet*, *quod* Dii Socii, *vel* Conjuncti. Miſcell. Par. I. de Diis Cabiris. pag. 196. *Quod ſi quis etymon Cabirorum tale quod commune eſſe poteſt quatuor illis Diis Inferis & duobus Dioſcuris habere vult, meo judicio aptius non inveniet, quam* CHABARIM, *i. e.* Socii, Juncti. Idem. pag. 198. Our own language, which ſtill retains great marks of antiquity, will afford us a word, not yet quite diſuſed, of the ſame ſound and meaning, and evidently a relick of the Pelaſgic; viz. Gaffer or *Fellow*, from the Saxon Gefeſia *Socius*, and that from the Hebrew *Chabar*, or *Chavar*, by an uſual change of the labial letter. Of the ſame root are the Corniſh KYVED, and the Welch CYFFAL, i. e. *Socius*, *Conjux*, *Amicus*, *Compar*. Vid. Davies Dictionar. Cambrobrit. By the ſame change of the labials comes Gammer, or *She-Fellow*, from the Celtic *Cymmar*, i. e. *Conjux*, *Socius*, *Sodalis*. Idem.

(2) —— Αγχι νότοιο ΘΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ ἀωρεῖται. Arati Phænom. v. 402.

Τὸ δὲ Θυτήριον λιβανώτιδι ὅμοιόν ἐστιν, ᾧ φασι τοὺς Θεοὺς χρήσασθαι, ὅτι τοὺς Τιτᾶνας κατηγωνίσαντο· Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησιν, τοῦτο τὸ Θυτήριον εἶναι ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ πρῶτον οἱ Θεοὶ συνωμοσίαν ἐποιήσαντο, ὅτε ἐπὶ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐστράτευσεν ὁ Ζεὺς, Κυκλώπων κατασκευασάντων. Schol. in locum.

rent countries, received new forms in compliance with the cuſtoms of different people; and this has occaſioned that confuſion in the accounts given of them by the ancients: only one primitive mark, I think, they always retained, by (1) concealing the proper names of the Gods. As their names were unknown, their (2) number muſt be ſo too;

(1) Νῆσον ὁμῶς κεχάροιτο, ἣ οἱ λάβον ὅρμα κεῖνα
Δαίμονες ἐνναέται, τὰ μὲ ἡ Θέμις ἄμμιν ἀείδειν. Apollon. Arg. Lib.I. v.921.

(2) Strabo in his tenth book has collected the various reports of the Cabiri; I will here give the reader at length the different opinions of the ancients concerning their number.

TWO. The Dioſcuri, or Caſtor and Pollux, are often called Cabiri, in a peculiar manner, and as if there were no other; though it is well known that the Cabiric rites were in being many ages before their time. *Varro & alii complures MAGNOS DEOS affirmant ſimulacra duo virilia Caſtoris & Pollucis, in Samothracia ante portum ſita, quibus naufragio liberati vota ſolvebant.* Servius ad Æn. III. v. 12. They were the ſons of Jupiter, Youths, and inſeparable companions, and ſo far Dioſcuri, Curetes, and Cabiri; but all the right they had to be called DII MAGNI, came from their being initiated, with other Argonauts, into the Myſteries: and from hence they became the tutelar Gods of Sailors.

Others who reckoned only Two, choſe Neptune and Apollo, who were true, but not the only, Cabiri. *Quos tamen Penates alii Apollinem & Neptunum volunt.* Servius in Æn. II. v. 325. Others the elder Jupiter, and the younger Bacchus. Οἱ δὲ δύο εἶναι Καβείρους· πρεσβύτερον μὲ Δία· νεώτερον δὲ Διόνυσον. Etym. Magnum. Nonnus in his Dionyſiacs makes them to be Two, the Sons of Vulcan.

Θρηικίης δὲ Σάμοιο πυριδενέες πολῖται
Λημνιάδος δύο Παῖδες ἐβακχεύοντο Καβείροι. Lib. XXIX. v. 193.

He gave us their names before viz. Alcon & Eurymedon. Lib. XIV. v. 22.

THREE Cabiri only among the Etruſcans, according to Servius. *Apud Tuſcos Cabiros eſſe Deos Penates, eoſque Cererem, Palem & Fortunam vocari ab illis.* Ad Æn. II. v. 325.

FOUR according to the Scholiaſt on Apollonius. Μνῆται ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τῶς Καβείροις, ὧν Μνασέας φησὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Τέσσαρες δὲ εἶσι τὸ ἀριθμόν· Αξίερος, Αξιόκερσα, Αξιόκερσος. Αξίερος μὲ ἔν ἐστιν ἡ Δημήτης· Αξιόκερσα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη· Αξιόκερσος δὲ ὁ Ἅιδης· ὁ δὲ τετραδύμος Κασμῖλος Ἑρμῆς ἐστίν· ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος. Schol. in Argon. Lib. I. v. 917. Authors lay great ſtreſs upon this paſſage, as though it made the caſe quite clear; and have taken the pains to explain the words Axieros, Axiokerſos, Axiokerſa, Caſmilus, from the Hebrew. See Bochart Canaan.

Lib.

however ſome authors have reckoned them only Two, others Three, Four, Six, Eight, Nine, Ten, Eleven; but

Lib. I. c. 12. But it appears to me in another light; for all that I conclude from hence is, that Mnaſeas and Dionyſiodorus were no initiated perſons, and knew little of the myſteries: but from the ſecrecy, with which they were performed, judged them to belong to the infernal deities; for whom they likewiſe coined thoſe hard names.

SIX. Strabo from Pherecydes reckoned Three Males and Three Females, the ſons and daughters of Vulcan and the nymph Cabira. Ἐκ δὲ Καβείρης τῆς Πρωτέως, καὶ Ἡφαίστου, Καβείροις τρεῖς, καὶ νύμφας Τρεῖς Καβειρίδας. Geogr. Lib. X. p. 473.

EIGHT. The Phenician Hiſtory calls the Cabiri the ſons of Sydec, Æſculapius and ſeven others, whoſe names are unknown. Οἱ ἑπτὰ Συδεκ παῖδες Καβείροι, καὶ ὄγδοος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς Ασκληπιός. Vid. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. c. 10.

NINE. Pherecydes reckoned Nine Corybantes, by which are to be underſtood Cabiri, the ſons of Apollo and Rhytia. Φερεκύδης δ' ἐξ Απόλλωνος καὶ Ρυτίας Κορύβαντας Εννέα, οἰκῆσαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ. Strabo Lib. X. p. 473. The Telchines of Rhodes, the ſame with the Corybantes, who accompanied Rhea into Crete, and nurſed Jupiter there, were likewiſe Nine in Number, and called Curetes. Οἱ δὲ Τελχίνων ἐν Ρόδῳ Εννέα ὄντων, τοὺς Ρέᾳ συνακολουθήσαντας εἰς Κρήτην, καὶ τὸν Δία κουροτροφήσαντας, Κουρῆτας ὀνομασθῆναι. Strabo Lib. X. p. 472. Diodorus reckons Nine Curetes in Crete. Lib. V.

TEN. The Idæi Dactyli who found out iron and wrought it, are likewiſe Cabiri, and were Ten according to Strabo, five males and five females, called Dactyli from the number of fingers on the hands. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ οἴεται, Πέντε τοὺς πρώτους ἄρσενας γενέσθαι· οἱ σίδηρόν τε ἐξεῦρον καὶ εἰργάσαντο πρῶτοι, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων· Πέντε δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὰς τούτων. Απὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ Δακτύλοις κληθῆναι. Strabo Lib. X. p. 473. Ιδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι· οἱ δὲ Δέκα ὑπάρχοντας, τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, τοῖς ἐν τῇ χερσὶ Δακτύλοις ὄντας ἰσαρίθμους. Diodor. Lib. V. p. 333.

ELEVEN. This number we find in the Scholiaſt on Apollonius, and here he comes neareſt to the truth.

Δάκτυλοι Ιδαῖοι Κρητάεες. Argonaut. Lib. I. v. 1129.

Ἐξ καὶ Πέντε φασὶ τούτους εἶναι· δεξιοὺς μὲν Ἄρσενας, ἀριστεροὺς δὲ τὰς Θηλείας. *Sex & quinque aiunt hos eſſe, propitios quidem Mares, ſiniſtras vero Fœminas.* Schol. in loc. The Scholiaſt here confounds the Prieſts with the Gods; but diſtinguiſhes the Sexes; by Ἓξ καὶ Πέντε he ſeems to mean ſix Females and Five Males, Jupiter making the Twelfth. Unleſs he confounded the Dactyli with the Titans of Crete, who according to Diodorus were Six Males and Five Females. Diod. Lib. V.

TWELVE. This I ſhall prove to be the true number; and to prepare the reader for it, ſhall only mention here the number of the SALII inſtituted by Numa, who, as we ſhall ſhew, were of the Cabiric order. ΣΑΛΙΟΙ οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ Νομᾶς

I believe the compleat number will be found to be Twelve, including Jupiter their chief.

Dii Conſentes the ſame as Cabiri.

The religion of Rome was derived from the Sabines and Etruſcans, who were Colonies of the Pelaſgians; and therefore the Roman rites may ſerve as a comment to explain the dark myſteries of the Greeks. The Romans had an old order of deities, whoſe names religion forbad them to divulge, no leſs than the Greeks; they were called (1) DII CONSI, or CONSENTES, a ſort of Tutelary Gods, who preſided not only over the ſtate, but over each particular family; when they were called (2) LARES and PENATES. The CONSENTES are ſtiled *Jovis Conſiliarii*, *Senatores Deorum*, *Jovis Collegæ*, *Penates Tonantis ipſius*; and from that circumſtance of concealing their proper names, I think, could be no other than the Samothracian Gods CABIRI, or *Jupiter's Allies*.

Νομᾶς ἀπέδειξεν, ἐκ τ῀ Πατεικίων ΔΩΔΕΚΑ τὸς εὐπρεπεςάτος ὁπλεξάμενος ΝΕΟΥΣ. Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. Lib. II. p. 129.

And now the reader, I believe, will agree with me; that the ſeveral authors of theſe different accounts would have come off much better, if they had frankly owned their ignorance; or at leaſt excuſed it, as others have done, under the ſanction, and ineffability, of the myſteries. Οἵτινες δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ Κάβειροι, καὶ ὁποῖά ὄζιν αὐτοῖς καὶ Δημητεὶ τὰ δρώμενα, σιωπὴ ἀγόντι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν συγγνώμη παρὰ ἀνδρῶν φιλικόων ἔςω μοι. Pauſan. Bœotic. p. 578. Ed. Sylb.

(1) Their gilt ſtatues were remaining in the Forum at the time when Varro wrote: *Et quoniam, ut aiunt, Dei facientes adjuvant, invocabo eos: nec, ut Homerus & Ennius, Muſas, ſed Duodecim DEOS CONSENTIS; Neque tamen eos urbanos, quorum imagines ad forum auratæ ſtant, Sex mares & fœminæ totidem.* Varro de Re Ruſtica. Lib. I. c. 1.

(2) *Curetes Græce ſunt appellati, alii Corybantes dicuntur, hi autem LARES appellantur.* Hygin. Fab. 139. *Caſſius Hemina dicit Samothraces Deos, eoſdemque Romanorum PENATES, dici* Θεὸς μεγάλους, Θεὸς χθονίους, Θεὸς δυνατός. Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 3. c. 4. *Apud Tuſcos Cabiros eſſe Deos Penates.* Servius in Æn. Lib. II. v. 325.

This

Penates, Conſentes, and Cabiri, all the ſame Gods.

This being a matter that is left undetermined by the ancients, nor was ever thoroughly diſcuſſed by the moderns; the reader muſt excuſe me, if I am more than uſually prolix upon this article. I ſhall firſt obſerve that the name, and ſituation of the (1) iſland, in which the Pelaſgians founded the Cabiric rites, ſhew that the Pelaſgians were ſeafaring Thracians: and the Thracians at firſt were no more than Scythians. The reign of Jaſion in Samothrace was a moſt remarkable Epoch, in the hiſtory of the Cabiric rites. He is ſaid to be, "The firſt who initiated ſtrangers;" which denotes, that the myſteries in his time began to be communicated to other nations; as appears by Cadmus's ſetting them up in Bœotia. And Jaſion probably reaped great advantage by this kind of traffick. The *Lares* and *Penates* were the gods of Troy that Æneas brought with him into Italy: but then we are to remember that Dardanus the founder of Troy, was brother of Jaſion, and without doubt conveyed the Samothracian myſteries to Phrygia; as the Pelaſgic Greeks did to Italy. The Roman religion was eſtabliſhed by Numa a Sabine, who perhaps had never heard of Æneas; and yet his gods might be the ſame with the Trojan, the thing being ſo eaſily accounted for. *Lares* and *Penates* ſeem to be Phrygian names anſwering to the word CABIRI: for it is (2) abſurd to give them a Latin

(1) *Threiciamque Samon quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.* Æn. VII. v. 208.

(2) LAR is an Etruſcan word ſignifying *Prince*, and in the plural may be applicable to the Gods; but I think can have no place here, becauſe its oblique caſes are *Lartis*, *Lartem* &c. PENATES has various derivations; the reader may chooſe which he likes beſt; but I believe would be as well pleaſed with none at all. *Nec longe abſunt ab hac vi* Dii Penates: *a* Penu *ducto nomine*;

original. (1) Nigidius Figulus very properly put the queſtion, "Whether Apollo and Neptune, who built the walls "of Troy, were not the *Penates* brought into Italy by Æ-"neas?" But Varro, the moſt learned of the Romans, without particularizing their names, came much nearer to the mark; when he affirmed, that (2) "Dardanus car-"ried the gods *Penates* from Samothrace to Troy, and "Æneas brought them from Troy to Italy." Varro, I am perſwaded, (3) knew the whole ſecret, but durſt not diſ-

nomine; *(eſt enim omne quo veſcuntur homines* Penu*) ſive ab eo quod* Penitus *inſident*; *ex quo etiam* Penetrales *a poetis vocantur.* Cicero De Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. c. 27. *Qui diligentius eruunt veritatem* Penates *eſſe dixerunt, per quos* Penitus *ſpiramus.* Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 3. c. 4. Penates, *quod penes nos nati.* Aul. Gellius & Macrobius.

(1) *Nigidius enim de Diis libro nono decimo requirit, num Dii Penates ſint Trojanorum Apollo & Neptunus, qui muros iis feciſſe dicuntur; & num eos in Italiam Æneas advexerit. Cornelius quoque Labeo de Diis Penatibus eadem exiſtimat.* Macrob. Sat. Lib. 3. c. 4.

(2) *Varro Humanarum ſecundo Dardanum refert Deos Penates ex Samothrace in Phrygiam, & Æneam ex Troja in Italiam detuliſſe. Qui ſint autem Dii Penates in libro quidem memorato Varro non exprimit.* Macrob. ibid.

(3) I am confirmed in my ſuſpicion by a paſſage in his Fourth book *De Ling. Lat.* where he ſpeaks of the Great Gods, like one of the initiated, who endeavoured to evade the queſtion. *Principes dei Cœlum & Terra: hi dei iidem qui in Ægypto Serapis & Iſis,* (& ST Harpocrates digito ſignificat) *qui ſunt Taautes & Aſtarte apud Phœnicas, ut idem principes in Latio Saturnus & Ops. Terra enim & Cœlum, ut Samothracum initia docent, ſunt Dei Magni, & hi quos dixi multeis nominibus. Nam neque quas Ambracia ante portas ſtatuit duas virileis ſpecies aheneas, Dei Magni; neque ut volgus putat, hi Samothraces Dii, qui Caſtor & Pollux: ſed hi* Mas & Fœmina, *& hi quos augurum libri ſcriptos habent ſic,* DIVI POTES: *& ſunt pro illeis qui in Samothrace* Θεοὶ Δωματί. *Hæc duo Cœlum & Terra: quod anima & corpus, humidum & frigidum.* Any one muſt ſee, that Harpocrates is here introduced very impertinently. Scaliger by adding one word, omitting another, and tranſpoſing a third, has made it verſe; but I think has miſtook the purport of the ſentence.

Sanctu' Serapis
Iſis & Harpocrates, digito qui ſignificat ST.

He imagined that it was a quotation from ſome old poet, perhaps Lucilius, who was ſpeaking of the Egyptian Gods: but this does not excuſe the incongruity.

cloſe it. As he was well verſed in Etruſcan learning, he could not but ſee, that the *Conſentes*, *Penates*, and *Cabiri*, were all the ſame gods. The following paſſage in Arnobius will perhaps ſhew as much. (1) *Varro, qui ſunt introrſus in intimis penetralibus cœli, Deos eſſe cenſet quos loquimur*, [i. e. Penates] *nec eorum numerum nec nomina ſciri. Hos* CONSENTES & COMPLICES *Etruſci aiunt & nominant, quod una oriantur & occidunt una :* SEX MARES ET TOTIDEM FOEMINAS, *nominibus ignotis*, (2) & miſerationis parciſſimæ : *ſed eos ſummi* JOVIS CONSILIARIOS, *ac principes exiſtimari.*

The Twelve Great Gods were the Cabiri.

Martianus Capella in his *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, a romance that ſeems to be copied from Cadmus's wedding, the gods and goddeſſes being invited to it; ſays, (3) *Mox Jovis ſcribæ præcipitur, pro ſuo ordine, & ratis modis, cœlicolas advocare, præcipueque* SENATORES DEORUM, *qui* PENATES *ferebantur* TONANTIS *ipſius. Quorum nomina quoniam publicari*

congruity. Varro ſeems to me to have had another reaſon, and more to his purpoſe. As that after he had mentioned Serapis and Iſis, *Harpocrates enjoined him ſilence: He was permitted to ſay no more.* And in truth he had ſaid too much already; if Cœlus and Terra, or Serapis and Iſis, were the only gods meant in the Samothracian myſteries.

(1) Arnobius Adverſus Gentes. Lib. 3.

(2) In reading this paſſage of Arnobius, I ſtuck at the words, *Et miſerationis parciſſimæ*; and upon further enquiry found that Canterus, and later editors, only bore with them, becauſe they ſtood in the firſt edition, printed at Rome 1543; which yet, as all acknowledge, was publiſhed from a very faulty manuſcript. The Baſil edition 1546 by Sigiſmund Gelenius, has *Et iis nationis barbariſſimæ*; which in my judgment, is a much better reading than the former; and a ſtrong confirmation of my opinion, That the firſt Gods were Scythians.

(3) De Nupt. Philolog. & Mercur. Lib. I.

secretum cœleste non pertulit; ex eo quod omnia pariter repromittunt, nomen ex CONSENTIONE *perfecit.* The mysteries, as Martianus here tells us, would not suffer the names to be made publick; and yet he has revealed them himself just after, without knowing it. He was ignorant that Euhemerus the Messenian, who wrote the history of the Gods, paid no regard to the prohibition; and that (1) Ennius the poet translated Euhemerus's work into Latin. *Tunc etiam ut inter alios* POTISSIMI *rogarentur* IPSIUS COLLEGÆ JOVIS, *qui bisseni cum eodem Tonante numerantur, quosque distichon complectitur Ennianum:*

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Neptunus, Jovi', Mercurius, Vulcanus, Apollo.

These are the Twelve Confederate Gods; the PENATES of Jupiter; the DII MAGNI, or MAJORUM GENTIUM, of the Romans; the ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΘΕΟΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΙ of the Greeks and Egyptians; and who sees not that they are the COMPLICES, or CONSENTES, *Sex Mares & Totidem Fœminæ*, of the Etruscans? Nor let it seem strange, that the number of Females should be equal to that of the Males; women at that time of day being of as much (2) importance in war, as the men. It is easy to perceive that all this confusion arose from the primitive custom of concealing the

(1) *Quæ ratio maxime tractata ab Euhemero est: quem noster & interpretatus, & secutus est, præter cæteros, Ennius.* Cicero De Nat. Deor. Lib. I. c. 42.

(2) Μάχην δ' ἀμέγαρτον ἔγειραν
Πάντες, Θηλείαί τε καὶ Αρσενες ἤματι κείνῳ,
Τιτῶνές τε θεοί· καὶ ὅσοι Κρόνου ἐξεγένοντο. Hesiod. Theog. v. 666.

The *Dii Majores* of the Romans were all alike military allies of Jupiter; as in those lines of Plautus.

Duodecim Deis plusquam in cœlo est Deorum immortalium,
Mihi nunc auxilio adjutores sunt, & mecum Militant. Plaut. Epidic.

names

names of the Gods. So long as there were no other myſteries beſides the Cabiric, the names were of courſe kept ſecret, except among the prieſts. But when in later times, the Gods had their peculiar rites allotted to them; it was proper to proclaim thoſe rites under the reſpective names of each God. Thus by degrees the names of all the CABIRI were ſeparately made publick; but ſtill in their general capacity of Jupiter's Confederates, they remained inviolably ſecret, as long as the Cabiric Myſteries laſted. And when they were thus ſeparately publiſhed, a particular regard was paid to them: they were not put upon the common level with the reſt; but had a ſuperiour degree allowed them, and were called the *Great Gods*. (1) Virgil indeed, according to the vulgar notion of his time, makes a diſtinction between *Penates* and *Dii Magni*; but Varro affirmed that they were both the ſame.

The High Prieſt and Miniſters of the Cabiri.

The Superintendant of the Cabiric myſteries was called (2) COES, the ſame with the Hebrew COHEN or *High Prieſt:* the inferiour miniſters went by different names in different countries; Corybantes in Samothrace, and Lemnus; Idæi Dactyli in Phrygia; Curetes in Crete; Telchines at Rhodes; and Salii at Rome. They are frequently (3) confounded with

(1) *Cum Sociis, Natoque, Penatibus, & Magnis Dis.* Æn. 3. v. 12. *Varro Unum eſſe dicit Penates & Magnos Deos.* Servius in locum.

(2) ΚΟΙΗΣ ἱερεὺς Καβείρων — οἱ δὲ ΚΟΗΣ. Heſychius.

(3) Τοσαύτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ποικιλία, ὥστ' οἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς ΚΟΥΡΗΣΙ τοὺς ΚΟΡΥΒΑΝΤΑΣ καὶ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΥΣ καὶ ΙΔΑΙΟΥΣ ΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΥΣ καὶ ΤΕΛΧΙΝΑΣ ἀποφαίνουσιν· τοὺς δὲ συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλων, καὶ μικρὰς πινας αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς διαστελλόντων. Strabo Lib. X. p. 466.

the gods; for the Priests are often called Cabiri, and the gods Curetes, Corybantes, Dactyli &c.

Vulcan and the Cyclopes authors of the Mysteries.

Vulcan, who is represented by (1) Homer as a peacemaker in the private quarrels of the Gods, has the singular honour of being called (2) CABIRUS, and (3) *The father of the Cabiri.* This I think is to be understood of his being the oldest person concerned in, and perhaps the chief promoter of, the confederacy; for all the rest appear to be (4) young deities. In later ages he seems to have engrossed to himself the sole privilege of the rites: if the CABIRIA, mentioned on some Greek (5) coins of the emperors, were the remains of the

(1) Iliad A. v. 571.

(2) Πρῶτα μὲν ἐκ Λήμνοιο πυριγλώχινος ἐρίπνης
Φήμη ἀελλήεσσα Σάμου παρὰ μύστιδι πρύκῃ,
Υἱέας Ηφαίστοιο δύω θώρηξε Καβείροις,
Οὔνομα μητρὸς ἔχοντας ὁμόγνιον· οὓς πάρος ἄμφω
Οὐρανίῳ χαλκῆϊ τέκε Θρήϊσσα ΚΑΒΕΙΡΩ.
Ἄλκων, Ευρυμέδων τε δαήμονες ἐσχαρεῶνος. Nonn. Dionys. Lib. XIV. v. 17.

(3) Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοια τῶν Ηφαίστου —— Τούτου σφέας παίδας λέγουσιν εἶναι. Herodot. Lib. 3. §. 37.

(4 For this reason they were called Curetes. Ὥσθ' οἱ Κουρῆτες, ἤτοι διὰ τὸ ΝΕΟΙ καὶ ΚΟΡΟΙ ὄντες, ἢ διὰ τὸ Κουροτροφεῖν τὸν Δία, λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως, ταύτης ἠξιώθησαν τῆς προσηγορίας. Strabo Lib. X. p. 468.

(5) These CABIRIA were celebrated at Thessalonica in Macedonia; and by the symbols of the Hammer and Anvil, which appear on the coins, are thought to be games performed in honour of Vulcan, or the Cyclopes.

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΣ. Cabirus cum malleo.

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ. Cabirus in templo, d. incudem, s. malleum. *Juliæ Domnæ.*

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Cabirus in templo. *Gordian. P.*

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΙΑ. Cabirus gestans malleum. *Philippi Sen.*

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ. Cabirus in templo d. malleum. *Maximin.*

Vide Pet. Seguini Select. Num. Paris. 1684. p. 16. Vaillant Num. Græc. Imper. Harduin de Num. Urb. & Pop. &c.

ancient

ancient Cabiric myſteries. His ſons or ſubjects, the Cyclopes, made the (1) Altar on which the gods were ſworn, forged arms for the other gods, and thunder for Jupiter; which implies that they were very inſtrumental in ſetting him on the throne. From hence too I conclude that the Cyclopes were the firſt inſtitutors of the Cabiric rites; for the Idæi Dactyli, Curetes, Corybantes, Telchines, who are ſaid to be the firſt (2) artificers in metals, and the firſt (3) makers of the Images of the Gods, ſeem to be the true deſcendants of the Cyclopes.

The Salii Cabiric prieſts.

The SALII are never confounded with the Gods; and upon other accounts may ſeem to be different from the reſt; but came from the ſame original with the Corybantes and Curetes, as the moſt judicious Roman (4) hiſtorian long ſince obſerved. They were appointed by Numa keepers of the *Ancilia*, or ſacred ſhields, and called prieſts of Mars; but in Tuſcany and other parts of Italy,

(1) *ARA. In hac primum Dii exiſtimantur ſacra & conjurationem feciſſe, cum Titanas oppugnare conarentur: eam autem Cyclopas feciſſe.* Jul. Hyginus Poet. Aſtron. Lib. 2. See likewiſe the Scholiaſt on Aratus, as before quoted. Κύκλωπες τότε Διὶ μὲν διδόασι βροντὴν καὶ κεραυνόν, Πλούτωνι δὲ κυνέην, Ποσειδῶνι δὲ τρίαιναν. Οἱ δὲ τούτοις ὁπλισθέντες κρατοῦσι Τιτάνων. Apollod. Lib. I. c. 2.

(2) [Τελχῖνας] πρώτοις δ' ἐργάσασθαι Σιδηρὸν τε καὶ Χαλκόν. Strab. Lib. XIV. p. 654.

(3) Αγάλματα τε τῶν θεῶν πρῶτοι οἱ Τελχῖνες κατασκευάσαι λέγονται. Diodor. Lib. V.

(4) Οἵας λέγονται φέρειν οἱ τὰ Κουρήτων παρ' Ἕλλησι ἐπιτελοῦντες ἱερά· καὶ εἰσιν οἱ ΣΑΛΙΟΙ κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐμὴν γνῶσιν Ἑλληνικῷ μεθερμηνευθέντες ὀνόματι ΚΟΥΡΗΤΕΣ, ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας οὕτως ὠνομασμένων παρὰ τοὺς ΚΟΥΡΟΥΣ· ὑπὸ δὲ Ρωμαίων ἀπὸ τῆς συντόνου κινήσεως. Dionyſ. Halic. Ant. Rom. Lib. II. p. 129, 130. Χορείαν δὲ καὶ κίνησιν ἐνόπλιον, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀποτελούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνχειριδίων ψόφον, εἰ τὲ δεῖ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τεκμηριοῦσθαι λόγοις, ΚΟΥΡΗΤΕΣ ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι καταστησάμενοι. Ibid. *Samothraces horum Penatium antiſtites SUOS vocabant, qui poſtea a Romanis SALII appellati ſunt.* Serv. ad Æn. II. v. 325.

were

were the priests of the Consentes. The Sabines were descendants of the Laconian Pelasgi: Numa came from Cures the chief town in the Sabine country, whose name carries with it some intimation of the Cabiric rites; and from this place without question the Salii came, and were there called Curetes, as in Greece. But when Numa translated that order to Rome, he had the address to dedicate them to Mars the patron god of the Romans; in return for their calling themselves Curetes, or Quirites. The word SALII is purely Latin, and given them upon account of their dancing; but the Romans notwithstanding preserved some obscure notion of their descent from the Cabiri: either by means of (1) Dardanus who carried the rites to Troy, from whence their Gods and Penates came; or from one (2) Salius a Samothracian, who taught them the dance. I must add that the Salii at Rome seem to have preserved the original songs, used in the Cabiric rites at Samothrace; composed in the old Pelasgic dialect, and which religion forbad them to alter. These songs in the Augustan age, were no more understood by the (3) Romans, than they were by the (4) Greeks in Samothrace.

(1) *Alii dicunt SALIUM quendam Arcadem fuisse, qui Trojanis junctus hunc ludum in sacris instituerit; nonnulli tamen hos a Dardano institutos volunt, qui Samothracibus Diis sacra persolverent.* Servius ad Æn. VIII. v. 285.

(2) ΣΑΛΙΟΙ ἐκλήθησαν, οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοι μυθολογοῦσι, ἀπὸ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΚΟΣ ἀνδρὸς, ἢ Μαντινέως, ὄνομα ΣΑΛΙΟΥ, τῷ ἐνόπλιον ἐκδιδάξαντος ὄρχησιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆ ὀρχήσεως ἁλτικῆς. Plutarch in Numa.

(3) *Saliorum carmina, vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta, mutari vetat religio, & consecratis utendum est.* Quintilian. Lib. I. c. 11. *Prisca lingua est, qua vetustissimi Italici sub Jano & Saturno sunt usi, incondita, ut se habeant carmina Saliorum.* Isidor. Orig. Lib. IX. c. 1.

(4) Ἐοίκασι δ' πυλαιὰν ἰδίαν Διάλεκλον οἱ αὐτόχθονες, [Σαμοθράκης] ἧς πολλὰ ἐν τῆ θυσίαις μέχρι τῶν νῦν παρεῖται. Diodor. Lib. V.

In

The Cabiric myſteries allude to the hiſtory of Jupiter.

In all ancient cuſtoms we are to expect ſomething analogous to the facts upon which they were founded: and this is often minutely explained by ancient authors. The Cabiric myſteries were performed with ſuch ſecrecy, that little has been revealed concerning them; but what is known will bear an alluſion to the true hiſtory of Jupiter, without the neceſſity of ſtraining it to allegory. The firſt article of the rites enjoined the votaries to conceal the names of the Gods; and this, in a religious view, perhaps may only prove their great (1) antiquity. Idolatry was then in its infancy; men before that time knew but one god; unleſs it may be thought, that they worſhipped the Sun, Moon, and Stars. It was unlawful to make any repreſentation, or even to pronounce the name, of god: precepts which the Jews religiouſly obſerve to this day. But if we take it in a political ſenſe, it may allude to the ſecrecy with which the alliance of the Gods was concerted: and the rites were performed in the night, perhaps to denote that the victory was gained by ſome ſtratagem, or ſurprize. Thoſe who were initiated into the myſteries were generally

(1) Herodotus Book II. §. 52. ſays, "The Pelaſgians at firſt ſacrificed, "and invoked the Gods in general, without calling them by their names;" which plainly points to the inſtitution of the Cabiric rites. But what he adds, "That the Egyptians firſt invoked the Gods by name, and that the "Greeks received thoſe names from them;" ſeems to be a fiction of the Egyptian prieſts. The worſhip of dead men, at firſt could not but be ſhocking to human reaſon; which was probably the true cauſe of concealing the names: but when it became leſs reſerved, and more familiar with all nations; then they began to diſtinguiſh the Gods, and made no ſcruple, either of calling them by their names, or of increaſing their number. And I think the Greeks and Scythians might as well ſet the example as the Egyptians.

(1) youths.

(1) youths. The person initiated was placed on a (2) throne, the priests dancing round him; which has all the appearance of proclaiming the young Jupiter king. The priests too were young persons, and (3) equal in number to the gods. It was the office, or privilege, of the high priest to (4) absolve a criminal, who had killed even a brother; and for this the heathens are reproached by the (5) Christians. But in fighting against their nearest relations the Titans, the Gods must have been often reduced to that necessity; and an indemnity was probably provided for such accidents, when they first entered into the confederacy.

The Corybantine Dance in armour.

The chief, and only, thing in these rites, that the ancients acknowledged to bear any relation to Jupiter, was the dance of the Corybantes in armour; striking upon their shields in imitation of a battle. The common reason given for this custom, is a fable too gross to be believed as a fact; and I don't remember, that it has ever been explained in an allegorical way. If we take it in conjunction with the other part of the ceremony, the enthronizing a young person; we cannot but think

(1) *Terentius Apollodorum sequitur, apud quem legitur in Insula Samothracum a certo tempore Pueros initiari more Atheniensium.* Donatus in Terentii Phorm. Act. I. Scen. 1.

(2) ΘΡΟΝΩΣΙΣ. Καταρχὴ περὶ τοὺς μυουμένους. Hesych. Ποιεῖτον δὲ ταυτὸν ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων, ὅταν τὴν ΘΡΟΝΩΣΙΝ ποιῶνται, περὶ τούτου ὃν ἂν μέλλωσι τελεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ΧΟΡΕΙΑ τίς ἐστι καὶ παιδεία. Plato in Euthydemo.

(3) This I think appears from the number of the Salii, mentioned by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, as above.

(4) ΚΟΙΗΣ. Ἱεροὺς Καβείρων ὁ καθαίρων φονέα· οἱ δὲ ΚΟΗΣ. Hesychius.

(5) *Oblivioni etiam Corybantia Sacra donentur, in quibus sanctum illud mysterium traditur; Frater trucidatus a Fratribus.* Arnobius Adver. Gentes. Lib. V.

that

that it allúdes to a fact, ſomething later than the mere infancy of that God. The dance in armour was a moſt ancient (1) cuſtom with thoſe who had gained a victory; and this of the Gods is the firſt, whereof we find any (2) footſteps in hiſtory. The Bacchanalian rites, in memory of Bacchus's victories, were formed upon this plan; and from hence came the famous (3) Pyrrhic dance, ſo celebrated by Greeks and Romans, nor yet entirely effaced by time; traces of it ſtill remaining in (4) ſeveral parts of Europe.

(1) *Saltabant autem* ritu veteri *armati poſt victoriam Tiburtinorum de Volſcis.* Servius ad Æneid. Lib.VIII. v. 285.

(2) Epicharmus aſcribed the origin of the Dance to Minerva: Ο ὁ Επίχαρμος τὴν Αθηνᾶν φησὶ τοῖς Διοσκόροις τὸ ἐνόπλιον νόμον ἐπαυλῆσαι. Schol. in Pindari Pyth. Od. 2. and Dionyſius Halic. ſays that ſhe probably firſt performed it upon the defeat of the Titans. Ελλήνικὸν ὁ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιῶν ὁπτήδευμα, ἐν ὅπλοις Ὄρχησις, ἣν καλοῦσιν Πυρρίχην, εἴτε Αθηνᾶς ὠρχήσατο ἐπὶ Τιτάνων ἀφανισμῷ χορεύειν, εἴτε ὀρχεῖσθαι τοὺ ὅπλοις τὰ πινίκια ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἀρξαμένης· εἴτε παλαίτατον ἔπ Κρήτων καταφησαμένων. Lib.VII. Vide Meurſii Panathenæa.

(3) ΠΥΡΡΙΧΗ. Εἶδος ἐνόπλου ὀρχήσεως. Jul. Pollux. Lib. IV. c. 13. Εὑρηταὶ δὲ τούτων φασὶν οἱ μὲν Κρῆτας, οἱ δὲ Πύῤῥιχον τὸν Αχιλλέως. Proclus in Chreſtomath. The Romans called it *Troja*, and *Ludus Trojanus.*

Trojaque nunc pueri Trojanum dicitur agmen. Æn.V. v.602.

Ludus ipſe, quem vulgo Pyrricham *appellant, TROIA vocatur.* Servius in loc. Επιχώριον ὁ Ρωμαίοις μὲ πάνυ πίμιον ὁ ΚΟΥΡΗΤΙΣΜΟΣ, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν μὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὰς πομπὰς τὰς τε ἐν Ιπποδρόμῳ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις χινομένων· ἐν ἁπάσαις γὰ αὐταῖς ΠΡΟΣΗΒΟΙ ΚΟΥΡΟΙ χιτωνίσκοις ἐνδεδυκότες ἐκπρεπεῖς, χράνη τε, καὶ ξίφη, καὶ πέλμας ἔχοντες σιγηδὸν πορεύονται — εἰκόνες ὡς μοὶ δοκεῖ τῶν ΣΑΛΙΩΝ. Dionyſ. Halic. Hiſt. Lib. II. p. 130.

(4) *Before I came into Hungary, I obſerved no ſhadow of the* Pyrrhica Saltatio, *or warlike way of dancing, which the Heyducs practiſe in this country. They dance with naked ſwords in their hands, advancing, brandiſhing, and claſhing the ſame; turning, winding, and depreſſing their bodies, with ſtrong and active motions; ſinging to their meaſures after the manner of the Greeks.* Dr Edward Brown's Travels into Hungary &c. Lond. 1673. 4to. pag. 17. The common people in many parts of England ſtill practiſe what they call a *Moriſco* dance, in a wild manner, and as it were in armour; at proper intervals ſtriking upon each others Staves, and winding their Horns; which ſeems to be a low imitation of the Corybantine rites.

The Titan War the first Æra in European history.

I have dwelt the longer on the Titan war and its effects, because it is the first known Æra in the history of Europe; and therefore essential to our enquiry into the first language and inhabitants. I do not say that the Titans were the first possessors of Europe; nor shall I take upon me to determine, whether they are to be called Atlantians, Pelasgians, Celtes, or Cimmerians. Because I confess my (1) ignorance of the particular place from whence they came: only guess that they came from the North or North Eastern countries; about, or beyond, the Caspian and Aral seas. The memory of a war, wherein almost half the world was concerned, could never be totally obliterated: nevertheless it is matter of wonder, that so many particulars relating to it have escaped the teeth of time. No regular history was then kept, more than what was preserved by bards in their songs; which were the only records of the Scythians, and of their (2) descendants. The Curetes are a generation later, and more known, than the Titans; and yet we see what

(1) The country of Uranus was Atlantis; but who can pretend to say where this country is now situated? The names of people and places, both in Europe and Asia, are continually wearing off; and when once lost in the history of Europe, can never be retrieved in Asia. Some few indeed continue to this time, as Huns, Bulgarians, Saxons, Turks and Tartars, whose first seats are still to be found in Northern Asia. But these all come within the cognisance of true history; and some thousands of years after the Titans, who go beyond it.

(2) *Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoria & annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum.* Tacitus de Mor. Germ. Ανθρώπων ἐγὼ ἀκέω φιλοκινδυνοτάτους εἶναι τοὺς Κέλτους· τῶν ἀσμάτων οὖν ὑποθέσεις ποιοῦνται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἀπεθανόντας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καλῶς. Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 12. c. 23. *Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta, heroicis composita versibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitarunt.* Ammian. Marcellinus Lib. 15. c. 9.

difficulties

difficulties occur in their hiſtory. Vulgar tradition taught that they came from Crete, or mount Ida in Phrygia: but ſome affirmed, that (1) "They were a body of armed men, given by the Titans to Rhea for her guard, "and that they came from Bactriana; others ſaid from "Colchis." This laſt account, tho' perhaps falſe in ſome points, favours more of truth and antiquity than the former. All that little light which glimmers thro' the dark ages of Europe, ſeems to come from the North or North Eaſt. The moſt ancient facts in Grecian hiſtory relate to the Thracians, Scythians, and Hyperboreans, or more remote Scythians. If the Pelaſgians were what I take them to be; the firſt (2) Oracle in Greece was founded by Scythians; and the oldeſt civil rites, the (3) Olympic games,

(1) Οἱ δ' ὑπὸ Τιτάνων Ῥέᾳ δοθῆναι φρουροὺς τοὺς Κορύβαντας ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἀφιγμένους. οἱ δ' ἐκ Χάλυβος φασιν. Strabo Lib. X. p. 472.

(2) Strabo and Herodotus agree, that the Dodonean oracle was founded by the Pelaſgians; by which is implied time immemorial. Therefore what the latter relates, at leaſt a thouſand years afterwards, upon the credit of the Egyptian prieſts, concerning the "Two Black Pigeons, or Theban Prieſteſſes;" is a ſtory, that others may believe if they pleaſe, but it ſeems to me inconſiſtent with the antiquity of the Oracle: which I take to be older than that of Thebes, or Ammon in Libya. This is not the only inſtance, wherein the hiſtorian was impoſed upon by the Egyptian prieſts; whoſe vanity it was, to deduce both oracles from the Theban Jupiter. The ancient Scholiaſts judged more rightly, that the Dodonean, or Pelaſgic, Jupiter was an Hyperborean: the North being the country of the Great Gods.

Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελάσγικε, ΤΗΛΟΘΙ ΝΑΙΩΝ. Hom. Iliad. Π. v. 233. ΕΝ ΧΟΡΙΩ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΕΡΒΟΡΕΩΝ, τῷ Δωδώνῃ πεμφθὲν ἐν Θεσπρωτίᾳ. Etym. Mag. Didymus in locum.

(3) Pauſanias ſays, that "Thoſe who recorded the antiquities of the Eleans, "affirmed that Saturn was the firſt who reigned in heaven; and a temple "was built to him in Olympia, by that generation of men, who lived in the "Golden Age. — That Hercules one of the Idæi Dactyli, was author of the "Olympic Games, and appointed a crown of Wild Olive to be the reward of "the victors; which Tree he brought with him into Greece from the Hy"perboreans, a people who lived beyond the North wind." Εἰς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ολύμπιον,

were instituted by Hyperboreans: as, I think, may be inferred from Pausanias.

The difficulty of fixing this Æra.

I have not attempted to fix the time of the Titan war, and think it impossible to be done with any tolerable exactness, upon account of the uncertainty of pagan chronology. And further, because it is no way connected with the Eastern history, in the line of Sem, given us by Moses; wherein alone the true order of time is observed, and even there it is not entirely settled. The most ancient Scythian history, to which this properly belongs, is all lost: as is that of the Hyrcanians, Margians, Bactrians, with their king Zoroaster; which last would probably have afforded us some assistance. The Chinese annals go no farther than the affairs of their own people and country. And it is in vain to look for any truth or certainty in the Phenician and Egyptian tales; which come to us at second hand, broken, and unauthorized. The Phenician history would seem to give some little account of the Titans and Cabiri, tho' the (1) author, who-

Ολύμπικον, λέγουσιν Ηλεῖων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μνημονεύοντες, Κρόνον τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ σχεῖν βασιλείαν πρῶτον, καὶ ἐν Ολυμπίᾳ ποιηθῆναι Κρόνῳ νάον ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ὀνομάζοντο Χρυσοῦν Γένος. — Ηρακλεῖ οὖν πρόσεστι τῷ Ιδαίῳ δόξα τόν τε ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι πρώτῳ, καὶ Ολύμπια ὀνομασθέσθαι. — Καὶ τὸν Νικήσαντα ἐξ αὐτῶν κλάδῳ στεφανῶσαι Κοτίνου — κομισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Υπερβορέων γῆς τὸν Κότινόν φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ηρακλέους ἐς Ελλήνας· εἶναι δὲ ἀνθρώποις οἱ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄνεμον οἰκοῦσι τὸν βορέαν. Pausan. Eliac. Lib.V. pag. 299. If Hercules brought this tree from the Hyperboreans, I think he must be an Hyperborean himself: for to send Southern Heroes upon such expeditions so far Northward, is to oppose the current of history, and to reverse the order of nature.

(1) The Phenician History, under the name of Sanchoniathon, is preserved by Eusebius Præp. Evang. Lib. I. c. 10. from Philo Byblius, who translated it into Greek; or as some think, forged it himself. See Mr Dodwell's Letter concerning Sanchoniathon. Lond. 1691. The book has something of the air of antiquity, and may contain very old traditions concerning the formation, and first ages, of the world; some agreeable, others repugnant, to sacred

ever he was, ſcarce knew what the words meant; and ſeems only to have learnt them from the Greeks.

The author's opinion. Notwithſtanding then time has made ſuch havock in the hiſtory of our Weſtern world; it appears to me, that Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, were powerful princes; ſovereigns over a vaſt empire, comprehending all Europe, and great part of Aſia: That this empire was ſuperior to any other in time; and exiſted long before thoſe petty kingdoms in Greece, that boaſted of the greateſt antiquity: That the Titans were maſters of all the knowledge derived from the ſons of Noah: That they had the ſame religion with the people of the Eaſt; that is, either worſhipped one god; or if more, the Sun, Moon, and Stars: That their deſcendants in the Weſt, were the firſt who ſet up the groſſer idolatry, of paying divine honours to their progenitors. And therefore I am of opinion, that the Titan war could not be later than the age of Serug Abraham's anceſtor, where S. Epiphanius cloſes the Scythian period.

The Cabiri were the firſt Heathen Gods. If we fix our footing here, perhaps we may take a clearer view of the ſucceeding fabulous ages of the Greeks. It is certain that the Cabiric rites were the (1) firſt religion of their country. That the myſteries of Magna

ſacred writ. But the whole, as it is dreſſed up by the editor Philo, and vouched for by Porphyry, is attended with ſo many ſuſpicious circumſtances, that I cannot ſee how men of learning can take it for any thing more than an impoſture. The greateſt truth declared in it, ſeems to be that of the heathen Gods being once inhabitants of the earth; which was no more than the ſentiments of the wiſer Greeks, who underſtood the origin of their religion.

(1) Ὑμεῖς μὲν τελετὴν πρῶτοι μερόπεσσιν ἔθεσθε
Ἀθάνατοι Κουρῆτες. Orph. Hymn. in Curetas.

Mater,

Mater, Ceres, Bacchus, &c. were only branches that ſprung from the Cabiric; and are therefore ſometimes confounded with them. That Pan, Bacchus, Silenus, Sylvanus, Pluto, and others, by ſome reckoned among the older deities, muſt be poſterior to the Twelve Great Gods. That Hercules was not in the firſt grand alliance of the Gods, tho' he is reported to have fought on their ſide; and is therefore to be accounted a later deity. And now the reader may conſider at his leiſure, whether (1) Vulcan, the moſt ancient deity of Egypt, was not originally a Grecian god; and (2) Hercules, the oldeſt Tyrian god, a Scythian. Whether it is more probable, that Cybele, the great goddeſs of the Sidonians, came from Egypt, rather than Greece or Phrygia. And in ſhort, whether the boaſted antiquities of Phenicia and Egypt, are not fragments of the true hiſtory of Moſes, blended with the older fables of the Greeks.

Science in Europe began with the Titans.

The Titan language then, call it Cimmerian, Celtic, Pelaſgic, or by any other name, is to be conſidered, as the vehicle of the firſt knowledge that dawned in Europe. The progreſſion of ancient ſcience, a ſubject of the moſt entertaining nature to the human mind, is frequently touched upon by ſome of the fineſt pens, both ancient and modern. And yet, of thoſe who have purſued it thro' the dark ages, few, I think, have hit upon the right track; and moſt have taken, what ſeems to me to be the laſt ſtage of it, for the very beginning. If learn-

(1) The ſtately temple of Vulcan at Memphis, was built by the firſt mortal king of Egypt, MIN or MENES. See Herodotus Book II. c. 4, 99.

(2) Herodotus Ibid. c. 44.

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ed men without prejudice, and without paying too great a deference to precarious authorities, would only attend to a natural induction of particulars; I believe that instead of (1) deriving all religion and learning from Egypt, they might trace it back from thence to the Phenicians, Carians, Phrygians, Getes, and Thracians, and so to the Ægean isles, which were the seats of the first civilizers of mankind; and these were Scythians, or, if you choose rather to call them, Scytho-Grecians.

The Egyptians not the first authors of Science.

The Egyptians justly challenged to themselves very great antiquity, the sacred writings confirm their title to it; nevertheless they yielded the superiority in this respect to the Scythians according to (2) Justin, and to the Phrygians according to (3) Herodotus; which two accounts are not irreconcileable. They pretended to no science till the time of Thoth, or Hermes Trismegistus; who does not appear to have been a native of Egypt, and, if we may believe Sanchoniathon's history, came no further off than from Phenicia; but I rather suspect, that he was a (4) Scythian. We have no other

(1) This is one of the faults, with which Plutarch charges Herodotus. Τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ Πανὸς εἴρηκε, τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀλαζονείαις καὶ μυθολογίαις τὰ σεμνότατα, καὶ ἁγνότατα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν ἀνατρέπων. De Malign. Herodoti.

(2) Hist. Lib. II.

(3) Hist. Lib. II.

(4) It is almost needless to repeat, that the Phenicians and Egyptians had their Gods in common with the Europeans: and from whence the latter received them, I am at no loss to account. Their powers and offices were the same, tho' the names were differently expressed. This of Mercury, or Thoth, has met with somewhat better fortune than the rest. He was called Thooth by the Egyptians, by Plato and Tully Theuth, by Sanchoniathon Taautus. Ἀπὸ Μισὼρ Τάαυτος, ὃς εὗρε τὴν τῶν πρώτων Στοιχείων γραφὴν, ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν Θωὼτ, Αλεξανδρεῖς δὲ Θοῦθ, Ἕλληνες δὲ Ἑρμῆν ἐκάλεσαν. Philo Bybl. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.

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certainty of the time when Thoth lived, than what is collected from the book fathered upon him, (1) which calls "Uranus and Saturn his anceſtors;" and from them I ſuppoſe he derived his ſcience. This is antiquity ſufficient; and from this beginning the Egyptians became famous in following ages, and in their turn, were poſſeſſed of all the learning then in being. Their noble publick monuments evince their ſkill in the mechanical arts, and their excellent laws prove them to have been well verſed in civil polity. When a country had got the name for theſe elegancies, it muſt attract a great reſort of foreigners, who had any thirſt after knowledge, or even common curioſity: and ſuch were the Grecian ſages and Lawgivers, who went thither for no other purpoſe. But, that they brought from thence any new diſcoveries in Phyſical, or Mathematical, ſcience, it will be hard to prove; tho' it has been ſo often taken for granted. If the Greeks gained any thing of this kind, perhaps they kept the ſecret under ſeal of a vow, or for other reaſons beſt known to themſelves; for what they have been at liberty to reveal, gives us no ex-

The Egyptian Greeks called him ΤΩΤ, as in an inſcription faultily copied by Paul Lucas, Troiſieme Voyage, Vol. 3. p. 36.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ
ΘΕΟΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΙ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΕΣ
ΜΕΟΕΓΙΣ [f. ΤΙΘΕΙΣΙ] ΤΩΤ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ.

He appears to be no other than the *Teutates* of the Gauls and Germans, mentioned as a deity by Lucan, Pharſ. Lib. I. and called *Mercurius Teutates* by Livy, Hiſt. Lib. 26. The word may poſſibly mean only a *Teacher of the Sciences*, which was the office of Hermes, or Mercury. *Deum maxime Mercurium colunt; hujus ſunt plurima ſimulacra: Hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt.* Cæſar de Bello Gall. Lib. VI.

(1) Ὅπερ Οὐρανὸς καὶ Κρόνος οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι ἐκτέτυχασιν. Herm. Triſmeg. ΠΟΙΜΑΝΔΡ. Cap. X. §. 5.

traordinary

traordinary idea of the Egyptian learning. At the time the Greeks became ſo much acquainted with the Egyptians, their Theology ſeems to have dwindled into pageantry, and ridiculous ceremonies; and to have been little better than our modern Free-Maſonry, and Judicial Aſtrology, a myſtery known only to the initiated. When the Romans came to have to do with them, the caſe was much the ſame, or perhaps worſe; for we find the Egyptian prieſts, as pretenders to ſcience, ſometimes (1) ridiculed by that wiſe people. Egypt ſhone with all the luſtre of ſcience under the Greeks themſelves, when it was governed by the Ptolemies. Then we find more true learning in Egypt, than perhaps in all the world beſide. The School of Alexandria flouriſhed for many centuries, and tho' it has been extinct as many more, will always be remembered to the end of time.

The Golden Age. With the times and actions of the Scytho-Grecians began that part of profane hiſtory, which authors call Fabulous, or hiſtory diſguiſed in fable. Wherein we may diſcern, as through a cloud, the beginning of arts the moſt beneficial to the human ſpecies; Legiſlature, Medicine, Agriculture, Navigation, Commerce, &c. for which the ſeveral authors were (2) rewarded with the title of Divinity. I need only to

(1) This happened to Chæremon a prieſt who accompanied the Legate Ælius Gallus from Alexandria to the upper Egypt, and profeſſed Philoſophy and Aſtronomy. Παρηκολούθει δὲ τις ἐξ Αλεξανδρείας ἀναπλέοντι εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον Αἰλίῳ Γάλλῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι Χαιρήμων τοὔνομα, προσποιούμενος τοιαύτην τινὰ ἐπιστήμην· γελώμενος δὲ τοπλέον, ὡς ἀλαζὼν καὶ ἰδιώτης. Strabo Lib. VII. p. 806.

(2) *Hic eſt vetuſtiſſimus referendi bene merentibus gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus adſcribantur. Quippe & aliorum nomina Deorum, & quæ ſupra retuli Syderum, ex hominum nata ſunt meritis.* Plin. Hiſt. Lib. II. c. 7.

instance in the great father of these Gods; (1) "Who first "restrained his subjects from their savage manners, and "reduced them into communities; taught them the know-"ledge of the milder fruits of the earth, and the way of "storing them; with many other things useful to life; and "being a diligent observer of the heavenly bodies, was a-"ble to foretell events that were to happen in the world;" and in short, was (2) perfect in all knowledge. This then was the Golden Age, so justly celebrated by the ancients, the age of politeness, however disfigured it may now appear to us. The Greeks indeed, to whom we owe all our profane history, seemed to have lost their due reverence for it, and thought themselves beholden to other nations for their learning; but a little reflexion might have taught them, that their country from the first ages was the seat of arts and sciences.

Greece the fountain of arts and sciences.

I affect not to be thought singular in an opinion, much less to advance a groundless hypothesis; and therefore shall endeavour to rest it upon two of the greatest names for learning among the moderns, who, I am perswaded, saw clearly enough into this matter, tho' they have not delivered themselves so fully as might be wished, or as a point of such consequence deserved. Sal-

(1) ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ βασιλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώποις σποράδην οἰκοῦντας συναγαγεῖν εἰς πόλεως περίβολον, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀνομίας καὶ τῆς θηριώδους βίου παῦσαι τοὺς ὑπακούοντας, εὑρόντα τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν χρείας καὶ παραθέσεις, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρησίμων οὐκ ὀλίγα — τῶν δὲ ἄστρων γινόμενον ἐπιμελῆ παρατηρητὴν, πολλὰ προλέγειν τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον μελλόντων γίνεσθαι. Diodor. Lib. III. p. 132.

(2) *Trismegistus auctor est, qui cum diceret admodum paucos extitisse, in quibus esset perfecta doctrina, in his Uranum, Saturnum, Mercurium, cognatos suos nominavit.* Lactant. de Fals. Relig. Lib. I. c. 11.

masius

maſius after repeating ſeveral times, that the firſt inhabitants and language of Greece came from Scythia, adds (1) *Satis certum ex his colligi poteſt, linguam, ut gentem Hellenicam, a ſeptentrione & Scythia originem traxiſſe, non a meridie. Quo poſito & illud certiſſimo conſtabit Peloponneſum, cum reliqua Græcia quæ extra Iſthmum, a Theſſalis ſive Macedonibus Græcis, populos, quibus exculta eſt, & urbes quibus inſtructa eſt, accepiſſe.* INDE LITERÆ GRÆCORUM, INDE MUSÆ PIERIDES, INDE SACRORUM INITIA. Scaliger, a little more to the purpoſe, ſays, (2) *Si enim rem* AB ULTIMA ORIGINE *repetamus, deprehendemus artes non ſolum antiquitus a Græcis inventas & perfectas fuiſſe; ſed etiam* AB ILLIS AD EAS NATIONES DERIVATAS, A QUIBUS GRÆCOS HAUSISSE VOLUNT ISTI.

The Progreſs of Science.

Agreeably to the natural courſe of things the Arts had their periods; flouriſhed for a ſeaſon in one age and country, then ſunk, and roſe in another. The difficulty lies in tracing them through that vaſt waſte of time, where we have no other guide, than fabulous hiſtory. The Greeks, like unnatural children, branded their Scythian anceſtors with the opprobrious names of barbarous and illiterate; and we at this diſtance finding nothing to the contrary, form our judgment of them from what they really were, when the arts had left them. But ſhould we in the ſame manner eſtimate the ancient Phenician, Egyptian, and even Grecian learning, by the preſent inhabitants of thoſe countries, what a mean opinion muſt we

(1) Salmaſius de Helleniſtica Pag. 400.
(2) Scaliger Præf. ad Manilii Aſtron.

entertain of it? We learn from hiſtory their former flouriſhing ſtate; and this evidence, it is true, is wanting on the part of the Scythians, or is only to be picked up from the ſcattered fragments of the Greek writers, and of thoſe who copied them. They who think the ſtories of the fabulous age all (1) pure fiction, without any foundation in fact, ſeem to me, to believe too much on the one hand, or too little on the other: he who takes the middle way between both, may have a better chance to be in the right. Let me therefore ſuppoſe, with the ancient defenders of Chriſtianity, that the heathen Gods were mortal men, and had once a real exiſtence; and that what is related of their actions, may fairly be believed, if it comes within the verge of probability. Many of them are reported to have been the firſt inventors of uſeful arts; if that ſhould be thought improbable, let them have at leaſt the honour of conveying thoſe arts to the ſeveral countries where they ſettled.

The beginning of Aſtronomy in Europe.

To traverſe the whole circle of Arts would be an endleſs work. We need only, in order to judge of the reſt, endeavour to find the beginning of the principal, and moſt ſublime, of all the Sciences, that of the Heavenly Bodies. The Sabians or worſhippers of the hea-

(1) Strabo remarks, That Homer never raiſed any thing new or marvellous, but out of ſome truth. Ἐκ μηδενὸς δὲ ἀληθοῦς ἀνάπλεων καινὴν τερατολογίαν, ὡς Ὁμηρικόν. Lib. I. p. 20. Οἱ δὲ πυκνότεροι τῇ φύσει, καὶ πολυπράγμονες, ἀπιστῆσι τὸ παραπαν μηδὲν γινέσθαι τούτων. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ψεύδεσθαι πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα. ὁ γὰρ ὄνομα μόνον ἐψεύσατο, λόγῳ δὲ ὡεὶ αὐτῶν ἀξιός ὑπῆρξεν. ἀλλὰ ωρότερον τὰ ἔργα, εἰ ἔτος ὁ λόγος ὡεὶ αὐτῶν. — Ψεύδεα δέ τινα οἱ Ποιηται καὶ Λογογράφοι παρέτειναν εἰς τὸ ἀπιστότερον, ἢ θαυμασιώτερον, ἢ θαυμάζειν ἕνεκα τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἐγὼ δὲ γινώσκω, ὅτι ὁ δυνάται τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔξω, οἷα καὶ λέγεται. Palæphat. De Incredib. in Proœm.

venly

venly hoſt, are (1) generally held to be the firſt idolaters: and their worſhip could hardly ſubſiſt, without obſerving the poſitions and motions of thoſe luminaries. Whether the Titans are to be ranked in this claſs, can neither be affirmed, nor denied: but from what light hiſtory affords us, the Stars ſeem to owe their firſt denominations to them. Uranus the father of the Titans is repreſented as an obſerver of the ſtars; and his very (2) name is enough to perſwade us, that he himſelf, or his deſcendants at leaſt, underſtood ſomething of Aſtronomy. (3) Hyperion one of his ſons is ſaid to be the firſt who found out the motions of the Planets; in conſequence of which diſcovery, it may be thought, that his ſon and daughter, Apollo and Diana, were honoured with the names of the two principal ones. Theſe two deities ſhall be more particularly conſidered preſently. Atlas the ſon of Japetus, another Titan, is called the "Supporter of the heavens," by which the (4) ancients underſtood his ſkill in this ſcience: and his brother Prometheus is (5) acknowledged to be the founder of the Chaldean Aſtronomy, which perhaps is couched under the fable of his ſtealing fire from heaven. Theſe are the firſt accounts of Aſtronomy to be found

(1) *Notum eſt, Abrahamum patrem noſtrum educatum eſſe in fide Zabæorum, qui ſtatuerunt nullum eſſe Deum præter Stellas.* Maimonides More Nevochim. Lib. III. c. 29.

(2) Ur-En in Celtic, is the ſame as *Vir Cœli*, or *Cæleſtis*.

(3) Ὑπερίονα δέ φασι τῶν τε Ηλίου καὶ Σελήνης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ὥρας, τὰς συντελουμένας ὑπὸ τούτων, θεῖον ἐξ ὑπομελείας καὶ παραπλήσεως καταλῆψαντα, τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς γνῶσιν παραδοῦναι· ὃν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν πατέρα τούτων ὀνομασθῆναι. Diod. Lib. V.

(4) Cicero Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. V.

(5) *Hic* [Prometheus] *primus Aſtrologiam Aſſyriis indicavit: quam, reſidens in monte altiſſimo Caucaſo, nimia curia & ſollicitudine deprehenderat.* Servius in Virg. Eclog. VI.

among

among the Greeks: but whoever duly examines the extent and activity of the human underſtanding, muſt think that it had an earlier beginning.

Came from the Titans or Scythians.

It derogates too much from the dignity of our nature, and the image of God implanted in our firſt parent, to ſuppoſe that men in the primitive ages were but a little above the level of brutes. There were then, and at all times, ſome groveling geniuses that looked no further than the earth; but the generality had more exalted views, minds fitted to enquire into the reaſons and cauſes of things. The different magnitudes of the ſtars, and their diſtances from each other, were objects perpetually before their eyes. By this means the Planets muſt ſoon be diſtinguiſhed from the Fixed Stars; and the latter by their aſſemblages repreſented to the imagination the different forms of animals, men, birds, beaſts, and fiſhes. The arc of the heavens taught them to range theſe figures in their proper order, and to reduce them to ſome degree of exactneſs, by imaginary lines or circles. In this manner men might be enabled to form a Syſtem of the ſcience, or an artificial ſphere; a thing that could hardly be unknown to the Antediluvians. The revolutions of the Sun and Moon taught them to (1) meaſure time by days, months,

(1) In the days of Noah, they muſt have proceeded very far in this ſort of computation; if the year then conſiſted of 365 days, as a modern author thinks he has proved from the Moſaic account of the Deluge. Vid. Luc. Cuperus Paratitla Chronol. & Hiſt. Sacr. Amſt. 1721. pag. 34. Whether the author has proved his point, or not; I believe the beſt chronologers are of opinion, that this was the known length of the year long before the time of Moſes: nor can I aſcribe the invention to the Egyptians, becauſe the Chineſe accounts place it 2338 years before our Saviour's Nativity. See Jackſon's Chronol. Antiquities. Vol. 2. pag. 66.

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and years. Obſervations and Calculations followed of courſe; rude and imperfect, we may well imagine, and void of that accuracy which diſtinguiſhes the modern Aſtronomy. A long ſeries of years was neceſſary to bring the ſcience to ſome perfection, but improvements were continually making; and ſome nations, as the Chaldeans and Egyptians, by dint of application made themſelves famous in antiquity, for their ſkill in this way: but it detracts nothing from their merit, to ſay that they received the firſt rudiments from the Scythians. Arguments drawn from the (1) advantages of their countries, prove not that they were the firſt inventours of the art: the high mountains, and long nights, of the Scythians were as proper helps for promoting the ſtudy, as the wide plains of Egypt, or Chaldea. After all, I cannot but think that the great fame, which the Chaldeans and Egyptians acquired upon this account, was chiefly owing to their making a myſtery of Aſtronomy, by aſcribing ſupernatural virtues and influences to the Stars: a ſcience, of which they pretended to be great maſters, nor ſhall I deny that they were the firſt authors. This trifling art grew into vogue with the later Greeks and Romans, and from them ſpread itſelf thro' the ſeveral countries of Europe; but is now exploded by the learned, and retains its credit only with the vulgar and ſuperſtitious.

(1) *Ægyptii & Babylonii in camporum patentium æquoribus habitantes, cum ex terra nihil emineret quod contemplationi cœli officere poſſet, omnem curam in ſyderum cognitione poſuerunt.* Cicero de Div. Lib. I.

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The Barbaric Sphere. We muſt not forget, that, whilſt Aſtrology flouriſhed under the Romans, mention is made of a (1) *Barbaric Sphere*; by which (2) ſome underſtand the Egyptian or Chaldean Sphere, (3) others the Sphere of the Celtes or Gauls. Whatever may be meant by the word Barbaric, it appears to me, that the Scythians, or Titans, could not be without a Sphere; which they might, and did, communicate to many diſtant nations of the world, till that time ignorant of Aſtronomy.

The Northern Hemiſphere firſt cultivated. I grant that the Greeks, Chaldeans, Phenicians and Egyptians, by the advantage of their climates, had greater opportunities of enriching the Southern Hemiſphere with conſtellations, than the Scythians had; but the Northern ſeems to be what was firſt cultivated. The Sphere uſed by all theſe nations was

(1) Nigidius Figulus in the time of Julius Cæſar wrote Two Books now loſt, the one on the Greek, the other on the Barbaric, Sphere: a diſtinction that has not a little puzzled the learned. Scaliger thought that by the word *Barbaric*, he meant the Egyptian, or Chaldean, Sphere, as different from the Greek. But Salmaſius is of opinion, that he only explained the hiſtory of the ſame Sphere, by the different fables of the Greeks and Egyptians; and that Hyginus has preſerved the ſubſtance of what Nigidius wrote on the Greek Sphere. About four hundred years afterwards, when Aſtronomy had degenerated into Aſtrology; Julius Firmicus likewiſe mentions the Signs in the Barbaric Sphere, which Signs are not different from the Greek. But by this time, ſays Salmaſius, the word *Barbaric* had acquired a new meaning, and ſignified not the *Sphere of the Barbarians*, but the *Conſtellated*, or *Pictured*, *Sphere* of the fixed ſtars; as *Aurum Barbaricum* means wrought gold, *Barbaricæ veſtes* garments ornamented with figures: accordingly Donatus interprets the word *Barbaricarii* in the Code, *Qui barbarica i. e. Ornamenta ex auro conficerent*. Vid. Salmaſ. de Ann. Climact. p. 580, 581, &c.

(2) Scaliger Not. in Manilium. pag. 368.

(3) Pezron's Preface to Antiq. of Nations.

probably

probably the ſame, but by degrees varied a little from the primitive plan. Some new conſtellations were perhaps formed by conjoining, or dividing, the old ones; or new names might be given to them, the aſſemblages continuing ſtill the ſame; for this we know has been done in much later times. But I cannot be perſwaded, that any of theſe nations deviated ſo far from the (1) old ſyſtem, as to form one entirely new: for the Two Bears, the Wain, the Whale, Engonaſin, the Swan, the Harp, the Arrow, with many others, ſeem to me to be original aſteriſms in the Scythian Sphere: and theſe aſteriſms, the groundwork of the Egyptian and Grecian fables. No one can think that we have ſet the antiquity of this Science too high,

(1) A lover of truth ought not to be born down by any great name, even by that of Sir Iſaac Newton, who has eſtabliſhed a new ſyſtem of Chronology, upon very precarious Poſtulates, viz. "That the Greek Sphere is no "older than the time of the Argonauts; that it was formed by Chiron the "Centaur for their uſe; and that the hiſtory of the expedition is delineated "on the Sphere." Skill in Aſtronomy was never before reckoned a part of Chiron's character; and the verſes brought to prove it, from one of the old poets who wrote of the Titan war, are too ſlender a foundation for ſuch a ſuperſtructure.

Εἴς τε δικαιοσύνην θνητῶν γένος ἤγαγε, δείξας
Ὅρκον, καὶ θυσίας ἱλαρὰς, καὶ Σχήματ' Ολύμπου.

Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. I. p. 306.

Theſe lines ſeem to repreſent Chiron under the character of a Lawgiver, excepting the two laſt words Σχήματ' Ολύμπου, *The figures of the Heavens*; a phraſe for which it will be hard to find any parallel authority. A ſmall Greek criticiſm will reconcile matters, and make them all of a piece; and at the ſame time overturn all reaſonings that are built upon a falſe reading, by ſubſtituting in its room, Σήματ' Ολύμπου, *The Signs of the Heavens*; that note the Seaſons of the year, the prognoſtics of the weather &c. Σήματα, Σημεῖα, Διοσημεῖα are the proper words uſed by Homer, and Aratus. See *Miſcellaneous Obſervations on authors*. Publiſhed by Mr Jortin. Lond. 1732. Vol. 2. p. 233.

who recollects that the (1) Chaldeans had preserved astronomical observations, for nineteen hundred years before the time of Alexander; and that the (2) Chinese, according to the relations of modern travellers, had the knowledge of the Sphere, very near as early as the Titan age, if not before. Nor is there any reason to think, that it was unknown at the same time to their neighbours, the ancient Tartars; by whom, as I conjecture, Astronomy was first transplanted into Europe.

The names of the Planets Titanic.

The Planets, from the first ages almost of the Science in the West, seem to have been appropriated to those deities, whose names they bear in Latin; and which are not improperly (3) derived from the Scythian, or Cel-

(1) Διὰ τὸ μήπω ὑπὸ Καλλισθένους ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος πεμφθείσας παρατηρήσεις ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦτο ἐπισκήψαντος αὐτῷ· ἅστινας διηγεῖται ὁ Πορφύριος Χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐν καὶ Ἐννεακοσίων Τριῶν, μέχρι τοῦ χρόνων Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακέδονος σωζομένα. Simplic. Lib. 2. de Cœlo.

(2) The Chinese, who are supposed to be a colony and a very early one from Northern Asia, ascribe the same inventions to their most ancient kings, as the Greeks and Egyptians did to their Gods. Hoang Ti was the founder of their kingdom, and of their Astronomy, Signs, and Cycles. Their annals speak of a great Eclipse in the year 2155 before Christ, which has been proved and verified by calculation. See Du Halde. And a remarkable Conjunction of the Planets is mentioned in their books, to have happened about the year 2500 before Christ, according to Martini, Hist. Sinic. But Monsieur Cassini, who calculated this Conjunction, brings it down to the year 2012. See Louberes Hist. of Siam. p. 254. The first of these two Epochs, according to my reckoning, precedes the Titan age; the latter will come after it.

(3)

SATVRNVS	Sadorn, Sadwrn.	i. e. *Potens, bellicosus.*
IVPITER Jovis.	Jou *pater.*	i. e. *Juvenis Pater.*
VENVS Veneris.	Guener.	i. e. *Amor, Pulchritudo.*
MARS Martis.	Maurth.	i. e. *Bellum, Prælium.*
SOL ἥλιος.	Hayl, Heol.	i. e. *Sol, Ardor Solis.*
LVNA	Lhun.	i. e. *Effigies, Figura.* Vid. Plutarc. de Facie in Orbe Lunæ.
MERCVRIVS	Merc-Ur.	i. e. *Mercium Vir.*

tic.

tic. The Romans received their improved Aſtronomy from the Greeks, but we ſee, that they kept to the Titanic appellations; and no author has ventured to ſay, when theſe names firſt took place. Six of them are Cabiric, and Saturn being added to theſe, makes it probable, that they all owed this honour to the Aborigines of Italy. And the names, by which they are diſtinguiſhed in other languages, will I believe be found to be expreſſive of the characters and properties of theſe deities.

Apollo and Diana Northern Deities.

Apollo and Diana, more than any other Gods, are ſerviceable to us, both in connecting the Scythian and Grecian hiſtory, and in eſtabliſhing the antiquity of the Arts. Apollo was the god of medicine, harmony, poetry and divination. The Greeks, as uſual, feigned, ſome that he was born in the iſland Delos, others in Crete; but he was really a Scythian, and a Titan, and is often called Titan by the (1) poets. He was the ſon of (2) Latona and Hyperion, elder brother of Saturn. His mother (3) according to the fable, brought him forth in a place inacceſſible to the ſun; which ſeems to be the land of the Cimmerians. (4) Servius upon that verſe of Virgil

Hic genus antiquum terræ Titania pubes. Æn. VI. v. 580.

(1) *Extulerit Titan, radiiſque retexerit orbem.* Virg. Æn. IV.
Nullus adhuc mundo præbebat lumina Titan. Ovid. Metam. Lib. I.

(2) Apollodor. Lib. I. pag. 2. Ed. Gale. Diodor. Lib. V.

(3) *Eo tempore Jovis cum Latona Poli filia concubuit. Hoc cum Juno reſciit, facit ut Latona ibi pareret ubi Sol non accederet. Python ubi ſenſit Latonam ex Jove gravidam eſſe, perſequi cœpit, ut eam interficeret. At Latonam Jovis juſſu ventus Aquilo ſublatam ad Neptunum pertulit.* Hygin. Fab. CXL.

(4) *Ex his* [Titanibus] *autem ſolus Sol abſtinuiſſe narratur ab injuria numinum, unde & cœlum meruit.* Servius in loc.

tells us, "That Apollo, of all the Titans, was the only "one who abstained from injuring the Gods, for which "reason he was taken up into heaven." By this is meant, that he was in alliance with the Gods, and was rewarded by them with some territories, wherever those were. Whereas the other Titans, with their sons the Giants, were sent to hell; that is, were either slain, imprisoned, or driven out of theirs. That the Delphic Apollo was a Scythian, is clear from the Greek writers, from whom Tully received it; for speaking of the several gods who went by that name, he says, (1) *Tertius Jove & Latona natus, quem ex Hyperboreis Delphos ferunt advenisse.* Apollo was the chief deity of the (2) Northern nations; and this, with his being called the God of the bow, is to me a sufficient proof of his country. The Cretans who boasted of being instructed by him in archery, called the Bow (3) Scythian. (4) Diodorus from Hecatæus says, "There is an Island not "less than Sicily, in the Ocean over against Celtica, un-"der the Arctic circle, extremely fruitful in every thing,

(1) De Natura Deorum. Lib. 3. That the Son of Latona was the first and true Apollo we learn from the same author. *Reliqui omnes silentur, omnesque res aliorum gestæ ad unum Jovis & Latonæ filium referuntur.* Ibid.

(2) Τιμᾶται δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ὑπερβορείοις ὁ Ἀπόλλων. Schol. in Apollonii Argonaut. Lib. II. v. 677. He was called HEL, VEL, BEL, BELEN, by the Celtes; by the Goths BALDER.

(3) Καὶ τὸ Τόξον Σκύθικον ὀνομασθῆναι. Diod. Lib. V. The learned Wesselingius, the last editor of Diodorus, chooses to read Κρήτικον for Σκύθικον, without any warrant from the MSS: but had he sufficiently attended to Apollo's country, perhaps would have acquiesced in the old reading.

(4) Ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπέραν τῆς Κελτικῆς τόποις κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν εἶναι Νῆσον οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς Σικελίας· ταύτην ὑπάρχειν μὲν κατὰ τὰς Ἄρκτους, κατοικεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Ὑπερβορέων — οὖσαν δὲ αὐτὴν εὔγειόν τε καὶ πάμφορον — μυθολογοῦσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Λητὼ γεγονέναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμᾶσθαι· εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἱερεῖς τινὰς Ἀπόλλωνος, κλ. Diod. Lib. II. p. 91.

"inhabited

"inhabited by the Hyperboreans; who worſhipped Apol-"lo more than any other deity, and were in a manner "his prieſts, — That in their city they had his (1) Tem-"ple — And that once in Nineteen years, the God came "among them." [By which it ſhould ſeem that Cycles were a northern invention.] "They ſaid likewiſe that La-"tona was a native of their country, — that the inhabi-"tants had a great regard for the Greeks, and particular-"ly for the Athenians and Delians. And that Abaris their "countryman, went from thence into Greece, and renew-"ed the ancient league with the Delians." Add to this, the report of the Delians themſelves to (2) Herodotus, "That their ſacred rites were tranſmitted to them from "Scythia by certain Hyperborean virgins, Argis and Opis "who came with the Gods; and after them Hyperoche "and Laodoce, who died in Delos, and whoſe ſepulchre "in the temple of Diana, was to be ſeen in his time." In the Hyperborean Iſland then we are to look for the birthplace of Apollo, and of his ſiſter Diana, the goddeſs of the bow, a (3) Northern deity; for Medea, when ſhe

(1) This temple Mr Toland thought was ſtill remaining in the village of Claſſerneſs in the Iſle of Lewis, conſiſting of a Circle of Twelve Stones, with another of greater height than the reſt in the centre. Hiſtory of Druids, pag. 89, 158, 160. See Martin's account of the Hebrides or Weſtern Iſles of Scotland, pag. 9. Where the form of the temple, and the approach to it, are exhibited on a copper plate.

(2) Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν Ἄργιν καὶ τὴν Ὦπιν, ἐούσας παρθένοις ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δῆλον ἔτι πρότερον Ὑπερόχης καὶ Λαοδόκης — τὴν δὲ Ἄργιντε καὶ τὴν Ὦπιν ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἀπίκεσθαι λέγουσι — τῇσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτῃσι τῇσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησάσῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων — τὸ δὲ σῆμα ἔστι ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτημίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. Herod. Lib. IV. §. 33, 34, 35.

(3) *Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.* Lucan. Lib. I.
Qua ſublime nemus, Scythicæ qua regna Dianæ. Idem Lib. III.

came

came with Jaſon and the Argonauts from Colchis, (1) pretended that "She brought Diana with her from the Hy-"perboreans." By *Genus antiquum terræ*, as above, (2) Servius ſays is meant the Firſt Race, or Titans properly ſpeaking, the Giants being the Second Race. (3) Tityus, one of theſe giants, was ſlain by Apollo's arrows, for endeavouring to force Latona; and he was, what his (4) name implies, a Titan or Son of the earth; and, I preſume, from this account of him, an Hyperborean. So that I think there can be no room to doubt, that the Titans were Scythians, as we have all along aſſerted.

The Harp a Symbol of Apollo.

The Harp is a ſymbol of Apollo, and whether he, or Mercury, is to be called the inventor, the Greeks received it from the Scythians; tho' I ſuppoſe that they improved it, and afterwards changed its name. But in our language we retain the original (5) word to this day. Diodorus tells us that "The inhabitants of the Hyperborean "city were for the moſt part Harpers." And every one knows in what eſteem this ancient muſical inſtrument has been always held by the northern nations.

(1) Diodor. Lib.V.

(2) ANTIQUUM. i. e. *Primum. Titanas enim contra Saturnum genuit: Gigantes poſtea contra Jovem.* Serv. in locum.

(3) *Hic* [Tityus] *amavit Latonam: propter quod Apollinis confixus eſt ſagittis.* Servius in Æn.VI. §. 59.

(4) Τιτ-ύς i. e. *Terræ filius.*

(5) *Romanuſque Lyra plaudat tibi, Barbarus* HARPA.
Venant. Fortunat. Lib.VII. Carm. 8.

Another

The Arrow. Another mark by which he is commonly known is the (1) Arrow, and this I think alludes to his power of Divination: a rod or arrow being an inſtrument always uſed by thoſe who pretended to any ſkill in magick. The Art of divining by Rods or Arrows, Βελομάντεια, or Ραβδομάντεια, as it was called, is extreamly ancient, and ſeems to have deſcended from the (2) Eaſtern Scythians to the Weſtern. It chiefly (3) prevailed among the Alans, Marcomans, Bulgarians and Germans. We are told by Eratoſthenes that (4) "Apollo hid his Arrow, with "which he ſlew the Cyclopes, among the Hyperboreans." By which, if any thing is meant, I ſuppoſe, it muſt be this gift of Divination: no people having been more remarkable in all times, for ſorceries and inchantments, than the Hyperboreans. And tho' Abaris, who is called prieſt of the Sun, and is ſaid to have poſſeſſed this Arrow, and by the help of it to have (5) conveyed himſelf over rivers and mountains, delivered it up at laſt to Pythagoras; yet the notion of Magic is ſo ſtrongly imprinted on the minds of the Northern people, that it has continued ever ſince his time, and perhaps will never be eradicated.

The Hyperborean Iſland. Authors are divided in their ſentiments about the Hyperborean Iſland juſt now mentioned. Rhodomannus

(1) He is frequently pictured on the coins of the Syrian Kings with his Arrow, and without the Bow. Vid. Vaillant, Haym &c.

(2) See Hiſtory of Gengizchan. Book I. c. 4.

(3) See Grotius upon Ezekiel Cap. XXI. v. 21. and Herodotus Book IV.

(4) Τοῦτο τὸ βέλος ἐστὶ τοξικὸν ὃ φασὶν εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτε δὲ τοὺς Κύκλωπας, τοῦ Διὶ κεραυνὸν ἐργασαμένοις, ἀπέκτεινε δι' Ἀσκληπιόν· ἔκρυψε δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις. Eratoſth. Cataſteriſmi. Cap. 29. p. 124. Ed. Gale.

(5) Herodotus Lib. IV. Jamblichus Vit. Pythag. Lib. I. c. 28.

the

the editor of Diodorus ſuppoſed it to be our Albion or Britain: (1) Mr Rowland only the Iſle of Angleſey: (2) Olaus Rudbeck the peninſula of Scandinavia: (3) Mr Toland the Weſtern Iſles of Scotland: though, when he was ſo near, I wonder he never thought of his native country Ireland, which ſeems by its ancient type to have as good a claim to the title, as any of the others.

Iceland the country of Bards.

Iceland beſt anſwers to Diodorus's deſcription, both as an Iſland, and as to ſituation, being placed "Under the Arctic circle in the Hyperborean ocean:" and likewiſe as to extent, "Being not leſs than Sicily." Tho' how to reconcile it to the other character of "Fruitfulneſs" I am at a loſs; unleſs it ſhould be thought that this article is fabulous, which is not improbable. Iceland tho' unknown to the Romans, was certainly known to the Greeks, and was the Thule of (4) Pytheas Maſſilienſis, tho' Strabo looks upon his account as a fable. Modern authors who deny that Thule is Iceland, appeal chiefly to Pliny, Tacitus, and Solinus, who knew nothing of its ſituation; their knowledge of the Hyperborean ocean, going no further than Scandinavia, the northern continent of Germany, and the Britiſh Iſles, beyond which they thought nothing habitable. If Iceland was inhabited in Pytheas's time, it muſt have been depopulated afterwards; the preſent inhabitants being the deſcendants of a colony from Norway, which ſettled there A. D. 874: for which

(1) Mona Antiqua reſtaurata. Pag. 76.
(2) Ol. Rudbeck. Atlantica. Par. I. c. 9.
(3) Hiſtory of the Druids. p. 154, 155, &c.
(4) Strabo Geogr. Lib. IV. p. 201.

reaſon

reaſon the Icelandic (1) writers themſelves diſclaim all right to Thule. Their Iſland however has been productive of many excellent geniuses; and was from ages the great (2) ſtorehouſe of Northern learning. Wit is the product of all countries, and, though it may be more refined in ſouthern climates, yet gains life and ſtrength in all; nor have the northern ones ever wanted their ſhare of it. Iceland has been always (3) celebrated for its Bards; more are thought to have been produced upon that ſpot, than on any other, by a particular deſtiny. And whoever reads (4) Magnus Olaus's account of his countrymens natural

(1) Arngrim Jonas Crymogæa. Hamb. 1610. Pag. 13.

(2) *Nec Tylenſium* (Thulenſium i. e. Iſlandorum) *induſtria ſilentio obliteranda: qui cum ob nativam ſoli ſterilitatem luxuriæ nutrimentis carentes, officia continuæ ſobrietatis exerceant, omnia vitæ momenta ad excolendam alienorum operum notitiam conferre ſoleant, inopiam ingenio penſant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res geſtas cognoſſe, memoriæque mandare, voluptatis loco reputant: non minoris gloriæ judicantes alienas virtutes differere, quam proprias exhibere. Quorum theſauros hiſtoricarum rerum pignoribus refertos curioſius conſulens, haud parvam præſentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexui: nec arbitros habere contempſi, quos tanta vetuſtatis peritia callere cognovi.* Saxo Grammat. Præf. ad Hiſt. Danicam.

(3) *In Iſlandia ubi linguæ ejus uſus præcipue conſervatur, magno numero poetæ extant prompti & ingenioſi.* Magn. Olaus apud Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 196.

(4) *Deinde & hoc noſtra poeſis peculiare habet; quod cum in vulgaribus linguis quilibet pro more gentis ſuæ Rhythmos condere, verba in numeros aliquales cogere, uſuque id promptum reddere poſſit: in noſtra nemo poeta exiſtat, nec facillimum genus Rhythmi ſine magno negotio connectat, etſi maxime affectat,* niſi qui poetico ſpiritu ſingulariter afflatus eſt. *Qui quidem afflatus ut cæteri naturæ motus, aliis acrior, aliis remiſſior contingit. Quidam præmeditati Rhythmos feliciter edunt, aliqui ferventiori quodam impetu omnia genera Rhythmi ſponte profundunt, ut Rhythmus ſit, quicquid conentur dicere; ut ingenioſiſſimus olim apud Romanos poeta de ſua vena profitebatur; nec ſoluta oratio, quam iſta ligata, illis promptior eſt. Adde quod in prima ſtatim infantia, ejuſmodi natura manifeſtis ſe proferat indiciis. Nec prætereundum, quod motus ille ingenii in novilunio ſit ferventiſſimus, & Rhythmiſtam notabilem res poeticas aliis enucleantem, aut in Rhythmis fundendis occupatum, vino madentem, melancholia graviore infeſtatum, aut furore quodam correptum dixeris; & ſæpius hæc indoles etiam in ignotis ex ſingulari aliquo geſtu conſpicitur, quem nos*

talents in that way; will be inclined to pronounce them, in poetical phraſe, Apollo's genuine Sons, and under his more immediate influence.

The introduction of letters deſtroyed the true hiſtory of Greece.

Should it be aſked, how and when the Greeks became ignorant in matters that ſo much concerned their honour and original; I anſwer that their ignorance began to appear, at a time when they prided themſelves moſt upon their knowledge: this is often the caſe with particular perſons, and cuſtom and example make it more general. From the firſt uſe of reaſon, men took a pleaſure, and found their advantage, in tranſmitting to poſterity paſt tranſactions: at firſt by the help of memory, and then by ſome more laſting tokens, ſuch as the ſetting up of rough ſtones, which was one of the moſt ancient methods. But when in time ſuch marks could not be underſtood without tradition, and where that failed, were of no further uſe; ſomething more ſignificative was required, which perhaps gave birth to Sculpture and Writing. Theſe began upon ſtones or trees, with rude delineations of the things intended to be recorded; which by degrees were reduced to more contracted ſigns and characters, ſufficiently intelligible to the learned of the ſeveral countries where they were uſed. In this manner all knowledge was conveyed for many ages; witneſs the ancient learning of Egypt, and the living inſtance of the practice in China.

Skallvijngl *i. e.* Poeticam vertiginem, *appellamus. Sunt qui noſtram poeſin in malis avertendis & inducendis mirabiles affectus habere exiſtiment, quæ res fortaſſis non careat exemplis.* Magn. Olaus apud Worm. Lit. Run. pag. 192, 193.

When

When the Greeks had gained the more compendious method of expreſſing their ſentiments by words in alphabetical letters, they ſoon grew weary of writing by characters, as well they might; and by this means perhaps enriched their language, and made it ſo copious and harmonious, as it appears at preſent. But they ſeem from that time to have forgot, as uſeleſs, what was contained in their former writings; or retained it but very imperfectly, and as it were by tradition. They endeavoured afterwards to excuſe their ignorance by unavoidable accidents; (1) imputing it to a deluge, that deſtroyed moſt part of the inhabitants, and all their publick written records. Whatever was the cauſe, it is certain that they took but little care of facts, and leſs of times; ſo that (2) Sir Iſaac Newton had good reaſon for rejecting the authority of all profane hiſtory, that was above fourſcore years, or an age older than the time of Cadmus. Had the Greeks tranſferred, with accuracy, into alphabetical writing, what was delivered before in characters; their hiſtory and chronology could not have ſuffered ſo great a maim as it has done. But inſtead of taking this method, they grew fond of novelties, and applied themſelves to the enigmatical learning of the Phenicians and Egyptians; which, like our romances, was calculated to deſtroy the truth of hiſtory, under the ſemblance of greater wiſdom. The Egyptian prieſts told Solon, that the Greeks were (3) children in an-

(1) Ὕστερον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι γενομένου κατακλυσμοῦ, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τῶν πλείστων ἀνθρώπων ἀπολομένων, ὁμοίως τούτοις καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπομνήματα συνήβη φθαρῆναι. Diodor. Lib.V. p. 328.

(2) See The introduction to his Chronology.

(3) Ω Σόλων, Σόλων, Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ Παῖδες ἔστε. Plato in Timæo.

cient learning; and I think treated them as ſuch, by taking advantage of their credulity, and obtruding any idle ſtories upon them.

The origin of the word Barbarian.

The Greeks in the mean time, puffed up with their new acquiſitions of ſcience, began to deſpiſe their unpoliſhed neighbours and allies; and in return were as much deſpiſed by them. The Scythians, as we learn from (1) Herodotus, took an antipathy to the refinements of the Greeks; broke off all commerce with them on that account; nor would admit of their new ſacred rites, but made it death to practiſe them; as in the caſe of Scyles and Anacharſis. Both (2) Thracians and Scythians adhered to the old way of hieroglyphic writing; rejected alphabetical letters, and thought it a diſgrace to uſe them: and from that time, as I conceive, they began, by way of reproach, to be called (3) Barbarians, or Northern Men. With a people thus ſtigmatized, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the polite Greeks would acknowledge any alliance,

(1) Herodotus. Lib. IV.

(2) That the ancient Scythians dealt in Hieroglyphics, appears from the meſſage which they ſent to Darius when he invaded their country, ſymbolized under a Mouſe, a Bird, a Frog, and Arrows. Herodot. Lib. IV. And Euſtathius teſtifies the ſame of the later Scythians. Οἱ δέ γε παλαιοὶ, ὁποῖόν τε καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐποιοῦν, ζώδιά τινα Ἱερογλυφοῦντες, καὶ λοιπὸς δὲ χαρακτῆρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν λέγειν ἐβούλοντο· οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ καθὰ καὶ τῶν ὕστερον Σκυθῶν ἐσήμαινον ἃ ἤθελον, εἴδωλά τινα καὶ πολυειδῆ γραμμικὰ Ξέσματα ἐγγράφοντες, ἤτοι ἐγγλύφοντες. Com. in Iliad. Z. p. 489. Τῶν ἀρχαίων φασὶ Θρακῶν μηδένα ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνόμιζον ΑΙΣΧΙΣΤΟΝ εἶναι πάντες οἱ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦντες βάρβαροι χρῆσθαι ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. VIII. c. 6.

(3) The ancient Greeks thought the word Βάρβαρος not of Greek original. v. Strabo Lib. XIV. and later Etymologiſts ſcarce know what to make of it. I prefer the derivation given by Ol. Rudbeck to all others, viz. From BOR BARN i. e. *Boreæ Filii*, or *Northern Men*. Vide Atlantic. Par. I. pag. 691.

much

much leſs deduce their ſcience from them. They concealed their extraction as much as poſſible; and though they could not entirely ſuppreſs the hiſtory of the Gods, becauſe their religion was built upon it, yet they diſguiſed it, in imitation of the Egyptians: by ſubverting all the chronology, referring the moſt ancient facts to later, and different times, places, and perſons; and thereby opening a field to endleſs fables.

Fabulous hiſtory began in Bœotia.

This exotic depraved taſte appears to have commenced with the Æra of Cadmus's coming into Europe; and amongſt the Bœotians, always accounted the dulleſt people of Greece. For ſoon after the arrival of Cadmus, the Gods acquired (1) new births in Bœotia, Minerva at the river Triton, Mercury on mount Cerycius, Hercules and Bacchus at Thebes. Then too, for I think it can be traced no higher, began a new, and prepoſterous, genealogy of the *Great Gods*; many of whom, as Vulcan, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, Minerva and Diana, are ſaid to be begotten by Jupiter, tho' they were only his contemporaries, I may ſay his guardians; and all appear to be older than himſelf. Then followed a long train of other Gods and Heroes, together with a mixture of monſters, and ideal beings, that could have no foundation in hiſtory; but whoſe genealogies we find faithfully recorded in the *Theogony* of the Bœotian bard. After all this, it is not difficult to underſtand, how (2) Bœotia came to abound with Oracles, more than any other country of Greece.

(1) Vide Pauſan. in Bœotic.

(2) Τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα τί δεῖ λέγειν· Ὅπου τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἕνεκα Χρηστηρίων, πολύφωνον οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, νῦν ἐπιλέλοιπε κομιδῆ. Plutarch. de Orac. Defect.

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The declension of the Titan language in Europe.

The Titan language yielded to time, and to the common revolutions incident to men and things; to improvement of arts, conquest, commerce, and the like. Whilst the two prevailing languages of Europe, first the Greek, and then the Roman, were making advances towards perfection, the Celtic gradually sunk of course. But we see that it kept its ground longest in the Western parts; where it might still have flourished in a greater degree, had it not been exposed to the continual irruptions from the North. The country between the Caspian and Euxine seas was a common thoroughfare for the Northern nations into Southern Asia: but when that became sufficiently peopled, the inhabitants of Media, Armenia, Asia Minor &c. were able in some measure to repel the later colonies. The mountains lying between the two seas, were a sort of natural fence, but not sufficient to restrain those fierce spirits, without some assistance from art. One easy, but narrow, passage, ran on the side of the Caspian shore; thro' which in the earliest times they seem to have taken their route. At a proper place were situated, what the ancients called the (1) Caspian Gates; fortified, as it is probable, by the ancient kings of Media or Hyrcania; and according to some late authors made (2) impregnable by Alexander the great. Another passage went through Mingrelia or Colchis, on

(1) CASPIÆ PORTÆ *a Lazaris* [qu. an Chazaris?] *pro Romanis defensæ: in eo loco ubi posthæc Alexander Magnus portas constituens, Pylas Caspias nominavit; quod nunc Lazorum gens custodit pro munitione Romana.* Jornandes de Rebus Geticis. c. 7.

(2) See M. Petis de la Croix Hist. of Genghizcan. Book IV. c. 9.

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the Euxine ſide, by which the (1) Cimmerians paſſed, when they were expelled their country by other Scythians; who purſued them, but miſtaking the road, entered by the Caſpian gates into Media, the Cimmerians falling into Aſia Minor. Modern travellers take notice of a (2) Wall built on the mountains between theſe two paſſes, intended no doubt to oppoſe all hoſtile incurſions: and this neceſſarily turned the current of the Northern people more freely upon Europe. Where the wall terminated on the Euxine, I have not yet been able to learn, but gueſs that

(1) Herodotus. Lib. I. & IV.

(2) *Above Derbent appear the ruins of a wall, which reached from thence to the Negropont, or Euxine ſea: which has been a work of incredible charge and labour. In ſome places the ſaid wall appears very plain, and is about four feet thick.* Struys's Voyage. Book III. c. 20. p. 226. Olearius in his Travels of the Holſtein Ambaſſadours, ſays the wall was Six feet in thickneſs, and Fifty Leagues in length. Book VII. p. 403. The Perſian hiſtory, or rather romance, aſcribes the building of this wall to Iſcander, or Alexander the great. See Olearius Book VI. p. 335. But it ſeems to me to be a work prior to the time of Alexander: nor does it appear from the courſe of his victories, that he ever came near the Caſpian Gates. Quintus Curtius and other authors, who ſeem to favour that opinion, by an unaccountable errour, have miſtaken either the Jaxartes or Oxus, eaſtern rivers beyond the Caſpian ſea, for the Tanais that falls into the Euxine. I muſt here remark, that this Grecian hero was to the eaſtern nations, what the Titans were to the Greeks, viz. The ſubject of their mythology: for their firſt and fabulous hiſtory, will I believe be found to begin with his exploits. The eaſtern writers, tho' they had loſt all memory of the true authors of this work, have yet preſerved the uſe for which it was intended, namely to obſtruct the incurſions of the northern people. It is called by them, *Agger a Bicorni (i. e. Alexandro) extructus inter nos & Jagog & Magog.* Geograph. Nubienſis. Clim. 6. c 9. where the reader will be diverted with a ludicrous account of theſe enemies, the people of Jagog and Magog. In the year 1721 the learned Demetrius Cantemir prince of Moldavia, then in the ſervice of the emperour Peter of Ruſſia, attended by a party of twenty dragoons, went a days march from Derbent in queſt of the ruins of this wall, and deſcribed ſome part of its courſe towards the Euxine; which was publiſhed by the learned Profeſſor Bayer at Petersburg. Vid. Act. Petropol. Vol. I. p. 405.

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it was carried on to Phasis in Colchis. Toward the Caspian, its ruins shew that it began from the town of Derbend; which town if ever called Alexandria from the great conqueror, as (1) some are of opinion, has long since regained its ancient northern (2) name, denoting the importance of the passage. That torrent of (3) nations, which from time to time came pouring down from mount Imaus, and the backside of the Caspian, to the Euxine, meeting with these obstructions, formed a conflux of innumerable languages about and between those two seas. And this may account for what (4) Strabo has related of the Alans, and (5) Pliny of King Mithridates, and of the commerce of Dioscurias in Colchis.

The Gothic language universal in Europe.

Most of these Pontic and Caspian languages were probably Dialects, some more, some less, remote from the mother tongue; but if any one of them deserved

(1) Olearius and the Eastern Writers: from whom later travellers have borrowed their accounts.

(2) DERBEND, or in English DOOR-BAND, translated is *Januæ Vinculum*, or the *Fastening of the Gates*. BENDER is only an inversion of the same syllables, an usual name for a town, that is the Key, or Inlet, into a country.

(3) *Hinc est quod varientur eorum Septentrionalium linguæ, quia scilicet scriptura & literis non restringuntur. Nam (dicente Moscovitarum ad Sinas Legato) inter Moscoviam & Chinam sunt saltem Quinquaginta Tatarorum gentes, diversis linguis utentes.* Hyde Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 522. Compare this with the testimony of Timonax. Pag. 6. Not. 1.

(4) Γλῶτται δ' εἰσὶ ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι αὐτῆς [Alanis] διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐεπίμικτον εἶναι ἀλλήλοις. Strabo. Lib. X. pag. 503.

(5) *Mithridates Viginti & Duarum gentium rex, totidem linguis jura dixit, pro concione singulas sine interprete affatus.* Plin. Hist. Lib. VII. c. 24. *Coraci urbe Colchorum Dioscuriade, juxta fluvium Amethunta, nunc deserta: quondam adeo clara, ut Timosthenes in eam Trecentas nationes dissimilibus linguis descendere prodiderit. Et postea a nostris Centum & Triginta interpretibus negotia ibi gesta.* Lib. V. c. 5. Vid. Strab. Lib. XI.

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this latter title, I think, it muſt be the Gothic. The word Goth is not to be found in authors till ſome time after the Chriſtian Æra. (1) Some think that it began in Europe, and that the Goths at firſt came from Scandinavia, and ſent out their colonies ſouthward. (2) Others ſay that the Goths and Getes were the ſame people. And (3) ſome think the word Goth equivalent to Scyth, or Scythian. We have not time to diſpute about the word; what comes more properly under our conſideration, is the language commonly known by the name of Gothic: which might belong to many people of different denominations. This language certainly had its riſe in Aſiatic Scythia, and probably partook more of the northern idiom, as the Celtic had more of the eaſtern. That it can be no dialect of the Celtic, we are informed by (4) one, who was, or would be thought to be, intimately acquainted with both. As it made its way into Europe, and became univerſal there, it is to be conſidered as a mother tongue like the Celtic; being the parent of ſo many others, Teutonic, Francic, Saxon, Runic, with all their various tribes of deſcendants.

(1) Jornandes Epiſc. Raven. de Rebus Geticis. c. 8.

(2) Sheringham de Angl. Gentis Orig. Cap. IX.

(3) *Gothi cum Scythis una probantur origine ſati, unde nec longe a vocabulo; demutata enim ac detracta litera* Getæ, *quaſi* Scythæ *ſunt nuncupati.* Iſidor. Hiſpal. Cronicon. *Hoc ipſum nomen* Σκύθης *de quo nunc agimus, varie a Græcis enuntiatum eſt, & multas* μεταπλάσεις *incurrit. Nam* Σκύθης, Γέτης, & Γοτθὸς *idem eſt.* Salmaſ. de Hellen. p. 368.

(4) *Thus the Celtic and the Gothic, which have often been taken for each other, are as different as Latin and Arabic.* Toland's Hiſt. of Druids. pag. 7.

Woden or Odin the great Leader of the Goths.

Nothing certain is recorded of this language, till a few years before our Saviour's nativity. (1) Odin or Woden with his people came from the Aſiatic ſide of the lake Mæotis; driven out, as it is thought, by the terror of the Roman arms, after the conqueſt of Mithridates by Pompey. He retired perhaps for the ſame reaſon to the northern parts of Europe, not ſubject to the Roman government, and ſettled in Scandinavia, and the coaſts about the Baltic ſea: from whence (2) ſome have called this migration of the Goths, only a return to their mother country. By the increaſe of new ſwarms they poſſeſſed themſelves of the more Eaſtern parts of Europe; by degrees grew troubleſome and formidable to the Roman ſtate, and at laſt entirely overturned it. In carrying on their conqueſts, no doubt but they committed great devaſtations; for which they are loaded with infamy by ſome hiſtorians, and their name continues to be a term of reproach, for thoſe who profeſs an enmity to arts and ſciences. But the Goths were in truth the moſt (3) civilized of all the Northern nations of their time. Odin brought with him many uſeful arts; and amongſt the

(1) *Unicam gentium Aſiaticarum immigrationem, in orbem Arctoum factam noſtræ Antiquitates commemorant; ſed eam tamen non primam: verum circa annum tandem* 24 *ante natum Chriſtum, Romanis exercitibus auſpiciis Pompeii Magni in Aſiæ parte, Phrygia Minore, graſſantibus: illa enim epocha ad hanc rem noſtri chronologi utuntur. — In cujus* [Gylvi Sueciæ regis] *tempora incidit Odinus Aſiaticæ immigrationis, factæ Anno* 24 *ante natum Chriſtum, anteſignanus.* Arngrim. Jonas Crymogæa. Lib. I. cap. 4. p. 30, 31.

(2) Sheringham De Angl. Gen. Orig. Cap. XII.

(3) *Nec defuerunt qui eos ſapientiam erudirent. Unde & pæne omnibus Barbaris Gothi ſapientiores ſemper extiterunt, Græciſque pæne conſimiles, ut refert Dio.* Jornandes de Rebus Geticis.

reſt,

reſt, that of (1) letters. His colony therefore was kindly received by the natives, and ſettled peaceably among them; till for want of room, they were obliged to extend their dominions by force of arms. Odin beſides his great ſkill in war, wrought many aſtoniſhing feats by Magick; and a thouſand fabulous ſtories are recorded of him. He was after death reverenced as the chief deity of the Goths: his inferiour captains were likewiſe deified under the name of *Aſæ* or *Aſiatics*, to diſtinguiſh them from the Europeans; and their (2) language, or at leaſt their Poetry, was called *Aſa-Mal*, or *Aſiatic Speech.*

The Gothic Language in Europe, before the time of Odin.

Tho' this is the firſt notice we have of the Gothic language in hiſtory, yet there is reaſon to think it of much longer ſtanding in Europe; if we may judge from its acknowledged (3) agreement with the ancient Greek. For this makes it probable, that it was the language ſpoken by the Getes and Thracians; perhaps brought in by the Cimmerians, and by Deucalion and his ſons, who overran Greece. If we ſearch higher into Aſia, we find it ſpread very widely

(1) *Odino etiam & aliis, qui ex Aſia huc devenere, tribuunt multi antiquitatum Iſlandicarum periti; unde & Odinus* Runhofdi, *ſeu Runarum* [i. e. Literarum] *auctor, vocatur.* Ol. Wormius Liter. Run. Cap. 20. Ed. Secund. Hafn. 1651.

(2) *Linguam Danicam antiquam cujus in rythmis uſus fuit, veteres appellarunt* Aſamal, *id eſt* Aſiaticam, *vel* Aſarum Sermonem, *quod eum ex Aſia Odinus ſecum in Daniam, Norvegiam, Sueciam, aliaſque regiones Septentrionales invexerit. De quo Edda Lib.* I. Steph. Stephanius Præf. in Saxon. Grammat. Hiſt.

(3) Vide Meric. Caſaubon. De Lingua Angl. Vet. Lond. 1650. Erici Benzelii, & Edv. Lye, Præf. ad Evang. Goth. Cl. Junii Gloſſar. Gothicum.

there too. (1) Thoſe who are acquainted with the Perſic language, diſcover a very ſtriking agreement between that, and the Gothic. Some again find the ſame (2) affinity between the Greek and Perſic, as others between the Greek and Gothic: whence it is reaſonable to conclude, that all three came from the ſame root; perhaps from the Parthians, or ſome other Scythian nation, that once ruled in Southern Aſia.

Agreement between the Tartarian and German Languages.

That curious traveller Buſbequius had heard of a (3) people in Crim Tartary, who ſpoke the Gothic, or Teutonic, language; and (4) doubted whether they were not a nation of fugitives, driven from the north parts of Germany by Charles

(1) *Quod ad hoc ævi latuit pleroſque eruditorum, ex eadem origine compererat* [Elichmannus] *fluxiſſe Germanicam & Perſicam linguam, ad hanc illum conjecturam ducente infinita vocum copia utrique linguæ communium: ſed & verbis ſimiliter terminatis, eodem modo compoſitis, aliiſque multis argumentis.* Salmaſ. Præf. ad Cebetis Tab. Arab. Verſam.

(2) *Sed & flexio verborum, & alia tam multa ſimilia ſunt utraque lingua ut videri queant ab eadem origine utraque fluxiſſe.* Salmaſ. de Helleniſt. p. 398. *Nec in nominibus porro numeralibus, quod parum eſſet, ea affinitas trium linguarum Græcæ, Perſicæ, & Germanicæ, cernitur, ſed in vocabulis infinitis.* Idem pag. 395.

(3) *Non poſſum hoc loco præterire, quæ de gente accepi, quæ etiamnum incolit Tauricam Cherſoneſum, quam ſæpe audiveram ſermone, moribus, ore denique ipſo, & corporis habitu, originem Germanicam referre.* Busbequ. Epiſt. IV.

(4) *Hi Gothi an Saxones ſint, non poſſum dijudicare. Si Saxones, arbitror eo deductos tempore Caroli Magni qui eam gentem per varias orbis terrarum regiones diſſipavit.* Id. ibid. He adds, *Cui rei teſtimonio ſunt urbes Tranſilvaniæ, hodieque Saxonibus incolis habitatæ. Atque ex iis ferociſſimos fortaſſe longius etiam ſummoveri placuit in Tauricam uſque Cherſoneſum; ubi quidem inter hoſtes religionem adhuc retinent Chriſtianam.* But this is rather a proof that they were not Saxons. The people whom Charles drove out were Pagans; and he only fought for their converſion: for ſo many as would receive Chriſtian Baptiſm, as Witichind did, were permitted to ſtay in their own country. Vid. Krantzius Saxonia.

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the Great. But thoſe Cimbrians, or northern Germans, ſeem to have taken a different courſe by ſea; and to have infeſted the weſtern parts of Europe, where they became known to our hiſtorians by the name of Pagans, Pirates, Danes or Normans; nor was their language much different from our Saxon. Buſbequius's Tartars I take to be the true remains of the Goths, or perhaps of the old Cimmerians; as Precopenſian Tartary was the firſt country in Europe, where the Cimmerians ſettled.

Tartarian words agreeing with the Engliſh, Saxon, or Gothic.

An Engliſh reader may perhaps may be deſirous of knowing the mother country, from whence his own language came ſo many hundred years ago. I ſhall therefore not think it too much trouble, to tranſcribe a liſt of Tartarian words of the moſt common uſe, correſpondent to the Teutonic or German, in order as they ſtand in Buſbequius's Fourth letter. He took them from the mouth of a Tartar Envoy, who came with a complaint to the Porte, whilſt he was there in quality of embaſſadour from the emperour Ferdinand of Germany. Buſbequius premiſes, that the Tartar always (1) prefixed the article *Tho*, or *The*, to his words.

Broe	*Panis*	Bread	*Sax.* Bꞃeoꝺ.
Plut	*Sanguis*	Bloud	*Sax.* Bloꝺ. *Goth.* ΒΛϘΨ.
Stul	*Sedes*	Stool	*Sax.* Sꞇole. *Goth.* ΣΤϘΛΣ.
Hus	*Domus*	Houſe	*Sax.* Huſ. *Goth.* ΗΠΣ.
Wingart	*Vitis*	Vineyard	*Sax.* Ƿinꞅaꞃꝺ. *Goth.* ϒЄΙΝΑΓΑΚΑΣ. *i. e. Vinea.*

(1) *Omnibus vero dictionibus proponebat articulum* Tho *aut* The *noſtratia, aut parum differentia..* Ibid.

Salt

Reghen	*Pluvia*	Rain	*Sax.* Hrægn, Ren. *Goth.* ΚΙΓΝ.
Brudor	*Frater*	Brother	*Sax.* Brodeꝛ. *Goth.* ΒΚΩΨΚ.
Schweſter	*Soror*	Siſter	*Sax.* Spuꝛteꝛ. *Goth.* SVISTΛΚ.
Alt	*Senex*	Old	*Sax.* Eald. *Goth.* ΛΛΔ. *i. e. Ætas.*
Wintch	*Ventus*	Wind	*Sax.* Ƒind. *Goth.* VINΔS.
Silvir	*Argentum*	Silver	*Sax.* Seolƒeꝛ. *Goth.* SIΛΠΒΚ.
Goltz	*Aurum*	Gold	*Sax.* Gold.
Kor	*Triticum*	Corn	*Sax.* Coꝛn. *Goth.* ΚΛΠΚΝ. *unde Coranum vel Granum.*
Salt	*Sal*	Salt	*Sax.* Sealt. *Goth.* SΛΛT.
Fiſct	*Piſcis*	Fiſh	*Sax.* Fiꝛc. *Goth.* ƒISK.
Hoef	*Caput*	Head	*Sax.* Heoƒod, Hæƒd. *Vox Cædmon.*
Thurn	*Porta*	Door	*Sax.* Duꝛ. *Goth.* ΔΛΠΚ.
Stern	*Stella*	Star	*Sax.* Steoꝛꝛa. *Goth.* STΛIΚΝΩ.
Sune	*Sol*	Sun	*Sax.* Sunna. *Goth.* SΠΝΝΩ.
Mine	*Luna*	Moon	*Sax.* Mona. *Goth.* ΜΕΝΛ.
Tag	*Dies*	Day	*Sax.* Daȝa. *Goth.* ΔΛΓS.
Oeghene	*Oculi*	Eyes *Scot.* Een	*Sax.* Eaȝen. *Goth.* ΛΠΓΩΝ.
Bars *f.* Barts	*Barba*	Beard	
Handa	*Manus*	Hand	*Sax.* Hond, Hand. *Goth.* hΛΝΔΠS.
Boga	*Arcus*	Bow	*Sax.* Boȝa.
Miera	*Formica*	Piſ-mire, Piſ-ant	
Rinck, vel Ringo	*Annulus*	Ring	*Sax.* Rinȝ.
Brunna	*Fons*	Bourne	*Sax.* Bÿꝛna. *Goth.* ΒΚΠΝΝΛ.
Waghen	*Currus*	Waggon or Wain.	
Apel	*Pomum*	Apple.	
Schieten	*Mittere Sagittam*	Shoot	*Sax.* Scÿtan.
Schlipen	*Dormire*	Sleep	*Sax.* Slapan. *Goth.* ZΛΕΠΛΝ.
Kommen	*Venire*	Come	*Sax.* Coman. *Goth.* ΩIMΛΝ.
Singhen	*Canere*	Sing	*Sax.* Sinȝan.
Lachen	*Ridere*	Laugh	*Sax.* Lihan. *Goth.* hΛΛhΓΛΝ.

Criten

Criten	*Flere*	Cry.	
Geen	*Ire*	Go, Gee	*Sax.* Gangan. *Goth.* ΓΑΓΓΑΝ.
Breen	*Aſſare*	Burn	*Sax.* Bpennan. *Goth.* ΒΡΙΝΝΩ. *i. e. Febris.*
Schuualth	*Mors*	Sultry or Deadly	*Sax.* Speltan. *i. e. Mori.*

Alia cum Teutonicis non ſatis congruentia.

Knauen Tag	*Bonus dies.*	.... Day.	
Iel -- *Vita*	ſive *Sanitas*	Healthy.	
Ielteſch	*Vivus, Sanus*	Healthy or Well.	
Jel uburt	*Sit ſanum*	Well be it.	
Marzus	*Nuptiæ*	Marriage.	
Schuos	*Sponſa*	Spouſe.	
Baar	*Puer*	Barn or Child.	*Sax.* Beapn. *Goth.* ΒΑΡΝ. *i. e. Infans.*
Menus	*Caro.*		
Rintſch	*Mons*	Ridge	*Sax.* Rıȝe. *i. e. Dorſum.*
Fers	*Vir*		*Sax.* Ƿep. *Goth.* ΥΑΙΡ. NB. *It is ſtill preſerved as a termination, anſwering to the Roman* Or; *as in* Law-wer or Lawyer, Saw-yer, Bowyer, Builder, &c. *Vid. Mareſchall. Obſ. in Verſ. Angl. Sax. p.* 548.
Statz	*Terra*		*Sax.* Staþe *Ripa,* Land.
Ada	*Ovum*	Egg	*Sax.* Æȝ.
Ano	*Gallina*	Hen	*Sax.* Hana. *Goth.* ΗΑΝΑ. *i. e. Gallus.*
Telich	*Stultus*	Silly.	
Stap	*Capra*	Tup or Ram.	
Gadeltha	*Pulchrum*	Goodly	*Goth.* ΓΑΤΙΑS. *i. e. Bonus, Opportunus.*
Atochta	*Malum*		
Wichtgata	*Album*	White.	
Myca	*Enſis*		*Sax.* Meca. *i. e. Gladius.*
Liſta	*Parvum*	Little	*Sax.* Lytel. *Goth.* ΛΕΙΤΕΛ.
Schediit	*Lux*	Shine.	
Borrotſch	*Voluntas*		

Cadariou

Cadariou *Miles.* *Goth.* ΓΑΔΚΑΝΗΤΕΙS *Milites.*
Kilemſchop. *Ebibe Calicem* .... Cup.
Tzo Warthata *Tu Feciſti* Thou Worketdſt.
Jes Warthata *Ille Fecit* Ye Wrought.
Ich Malthata *Ego Dico* *Sax.* Ic Mælle.

Voces Numerales.

Itt	*Unus*	Whit, Jot, Tit, or Tittle.
Tua	*Duo*	Twa, Two.
Tria	*Tres*	Three.
Fyder	*Quatuor*	Fower.
Fiuf	*Quinque*	Five.
Seis	*Sex*	Six or Size.
Sevene	*Septem*	Seven.
Athe	*Octo*	Eight.
Nyne	*Novem*	Nine.
Thune	*Decem*	Ten.

The Codex Argenteus, the Standard of Gothic Language.

What we now call the ſtandard of Gothic language, is that venerable monument *The Tranſlation of the Goſpels.* The MS. which is ſtill preſerved, is called (1) CODEX ARGENTEUS, from being wrote in Silver capital letters, with a mixture of Gold. (2) Ulphilas Biſhop of the Goths in Mœſia invented the Gothic letters, and tranſlated all the ſcriptures into that language; ſo that we cannot preſume to think the tranſlation older than his time, or the middle of the Fourth

(1) It is now in the Library of Upſal in Sweden. See Celſius's Bibl. Upſal Hiſtoria. Upſal. 1745. Pag. 86, 116. See a Specimen of the writing in Serenius's Dictionarium Anglo-Suethico-Latinum. Hamb. 1734. Eric. Benzel. Præf. pag. 10.

(2) Οὐλφίλας ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἐπίσκοπος ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ἐφεῦρε Γοτθικὰ· καὶ τὰς Θείας Γραφὰς εἰς τὴν Γότθων μεταβαλὼν, τὸς βαρβάρες μανθάνειν τὰ θεῖα λόγια παρεσκεύασεν. Socrat. Eccl. Hiſt. Lib. IV. c. 33.

Century.

Century. And without any violence offered to antiquity, I think, the MS. itſelf may be of that age; tho' (1) others bring it down a century lower. The language of this book has been called in queſtion by late writers, tho' perhaps without any reaſon. (2) Junius, who firſt publiſhed it, and was certainly a good judge, thought it the Gothic language of Ulphilas's time; but (3) others Teutonic or Longobardic: becauſe there are ſome modes of ſpeech in it, that are likewiſe to be met with in the High Dutch or German, but are not to be found in the ancient Scano-Gothic, or Runic; which they reckon the pureſt, as being more immediately derived from Odin. And yet we do not learn, that the Teutones or Lombards uſed different characters from other nations, as we have it recorded of the Goths; and therefore I think this Tranſlation ought to paſs for Gothic, or the Teutones and Lombards ſpoke and wrote in the Gothic language and character, which amounts to the ſame thing. And moreover, we are informed by (4) thoſe who have made it their buſineſs to enquire, that theſe letters are uſed, and this language is ſtill ſpoken, in Walachia. But the reader will ſee the queſtion more fully diſcuſſed by the late (5) Archbiſhop of Upſal, and his learned editor. After all the reaſonings and con-

(1) Olav. Celſius Bibl. Upſal. Hiſt. pag. 118.

(2) Quatuor Evangelia Gothica & Anglo-Saxonica. Dordraci 1665. 4to.

(3) *Exiſtimare cœpi, aut Ulphilam ejuſque populum, a Græcis Gothos dictos, reipſa Teutones fuiſſe, aut quod magis credo, Teutonem aliquem Argentei Codicis eſſe auctorem.* Hickes Præf. ad D. Joh. Packinton. Vide etiam Guil. Wotton Conſpectum Theſ. Hickes. Lond. 1708. in Notis Pag. 3 & 4.

(4) Ol. Rudbeck. Atlantica Par. 3. pag. 210.

(5) Eric. Benzelii Præf. ad Evang. Goth. Oxon. 1749. 4to. & Edvardi Lye Edit. Præf.

jectures upon the point, it (1) appears to be the language and character uſed by thoſe conquerers, who were in poſſeſſion of Italy in the fifth or ſixth century; whether Goths or Lombards let others determine. The Gothic language, after reigning in moſt of the provinces of Europe, died away by degrees, being melted down into many dialects; and at laſt made room for the Sclavonian, which at preſent occupies near the better half of Europe.

The Origin of Letters.

As our conceptions owe their preſervation to ſpeech and language, ſo language is preſerved by writing. The uſe of letters has been ſo common for ſome thouſands of years that few men now ſearch into their original, and (2) ſome have vainly thought them coeval with language itſelf. Whoever has thoroughly conſidered the nature of an Alphabet, will, I believe, allow that it far exceeds all other human inventions. Men of very great abilities have attempted to give us the natural and rational grounds of its beginning; but their different ſchemes are ſufficient to ſatisfy me, that it requires more than the talents of them all put together, to give us ſuch as ſhall be free from exceptions; and therefore I take it to be a thing as inſcrutable, as its author. If it has not been ordained by ſome

(1) A ſpecimen of the ſame language and character was, not many years ſince, brought to light from the Manuſcript papers of Seignior Donius; who about the beginning of the laſt century copied many pieces of old writing, which he found in Rome, and other parts of Italy. It is an inſtrument of bargain and ſale of ſome lands, between two Eccleſiaſtics; and is publiſhed by Seignior Gori among Donius's Inſcriptions at Florence. 1731. See Pag. 497. and Preface pag. xxv. The original was found at Arezzo, not far from Ravenna, the capital of the Gothic Emperour Theoderic.

(2) *Ex quo apparet æternus literarum uſus.* Plin. Lib. VII. c. 56.

ſecret

ſecret decree of providence, we ought to lament, that the firſt divulger of the moſt wonderful art, that was ever yet found out to inlarge the mind of man, ſhould be ſo little known at preſent: eſpecially ſince the invention does not ſeem to be of the very remoteſt antiquity. If in order to trace it out, we go back to nature in its primitive ſimplicity, as it is to be found among the wild (1) Indians: it there appears that men, as rational creatures, have not only ſounds and ſpeech, but a way of communicating their thoughts at a diſtance by artificial ſigns, or pictures. This then is the firſt ſort of writing; an art that aroſe from the innate faculty of (2) imitation peculiar to man; and might be capable of many improvements. But how it could enter into the human underſtanding, to cloath ſounds in a few viſible forms, which yet, by their different arrangements, are ſufficient to expreſs diſtinctly all words in all languages, is I muſt own above my comprehenſion. No two things can be more widely diſtant than theſe two arts: and therefore in our enquiries of this kind we ought never to loſe ſight of the diſtinction, between writing in general, and alphabetical writing.

Moſes and Cadmus the firſt divulgers of an Alphabet.

I believe it is agreed on all hands, that alphabetical letters were known in the time of Moſes; nor can I think that they are more ancient; nor that any other man has a better title to the inven-

(1) See Baron Lahontan's Travels. Vol. 2. p. 88. Colden's Hiſtory of the Five Nations. p. 8. Purchaſe's Mexican Hieroglyphics. &c.

(2) Τὸ δὲ γὰρ Μιμεῖσθαι, σύμφυτον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ παίδων ὅτι, καὶ τούτῳ διαφέρουσιν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, ὅτι μιμητικώτατόν ἐστι, καὶ τὰς μαθήσεις ποιεῖται διὰ μιμήσεως τὰς πρώτας καὶ δεπικός. Ariſtot. Poetic. c. 4.

tion. This perhaps would appear more clearly, if we knew a little more of the hiſtory of Cadmus, who lived not long after him, and firſt brought letters into Europe: for till then, we find no mention of an alphabet, that can be depended upon for truth. Cadmus's errand of ſeeking his ſiſter Europa, was only a (1) fable that took its riſe from his coming into Europe. He ſeems to be a perſon, who for reaſons unknown withdrew from the government under which he lived, in order to ſeek adventures; and, with a body of followers of deſperate fortunes, to ſet up for himſelf, and to form a ſtate in a foreign country. For this purpoſe he was not unqualified; as having his religion to chooſe, and being maſter of a new method of diſcipline. He and his company probably arrived at the Ægean iſles in Phenician ſhips, and part of his crew might be Phenicians; this was enough to perſwade people that he was a Phenician himſelf, nor was it his buſineſs to undeceive them. But whether he was Son to the king of Tyre, or only (2) Cook to the king of Sidon, deſerves no enquiry; for both accounts ſeem equally fabulous.

(1) Σταλῆναι δὲ Κάδμον οὐχ', ὣς Ἕλληνες φασὶ, κατὰ ζήτησιν Εὐρώπης, ἣν παῖδα Φοίνικος οὗτος ἥρπαζε Ζεὺς ἐν σχήματι ταύρου· ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν μὲν ἰδίαν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ μηχανούμενον πλάττεσθαι, ἀδελφῆς ἡρπασμένης ποιεῖσθαι ζήτησιν· ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὁ τῆς Εὐρώπης μῦθος ἧκεν εἰς Ελληνας. Conon. Narrat. XXXVII.

(2) This particular we learn from Athenæus, as likewiſe that Harmonia was the King's Minſtrel, and that Cadmus ran away with her. Εὐήμερος ὁ Κῶος ἐν τῷ Τρίτῳ τῆς Ιερᾶς Αναγραφῆς τοῦθ' ἱστορεῖ, ὡς Σιδωνίων λεγόντων τοῦτο· ὅτι Κάδμος Μάγειρος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ παράλαβων τὴν Αρμονίαν, αὐλητρίδα καὶ αὐτὴν οὖσαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔφυγε σὺν αὐτῇ. Athen. Deipnos. Lib. 14. c. 22.

I find

Cadmus probably a Jew.

I find nothing in his hiſtory to convince me, that he was either a (1) Canaanite, Phenician, or Egyptian; for ſo many and different are the conjectures about him: but have often wondered that hiſtorians have never thought him an Hebrew, which ſeems to be his true appellation. Danaus and Cadmus are expreſly called (2) "Leaders of "thoſe exiles, who, upon the general expulſion of ſtran-"gers, left Egypt, and came into Greece; the greater "part falling into the country now called Judæa." Diodorus, in the loſt book of which this is a fragment, profeſsed to ſpeak of the affairs of the Jews; a people but little known to heathen writers, whoſe accounts of them are accordingly very defective, and ſometimes falſe; and are to be ſupplied and corrected by the Jewiſh hiſtory. Diodorus ſuppoſed the exiles to be a mixture of ſtrangers of different countries; but the Jewiſh hiſtory explicitly mentions no other people, as going from Egypt, beſides the Hebrews. Therefore I think nothing more probable, than that Danaus and Cadmus were ſome of thoſe *Murmurers in the wilderneſs*, (3) *Captains choſen by the people*, and literally *fell back* from Moſes, or Joſhua.

The Mixt Multitude from Egypt.

Mention is indeed made of a (4) *Mixt Multitude that went up with them, with flocks and herds and very*

(1) See Bp Stillingfleet. Orig. Sacr. Lib. I. c. 1.

(2) Εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ δραστικώτατοι συστραφέντες ἐξερρίφησαν, ὡς τινές φασιν, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τινας ἑτέρους τόπους, ἔχοντες ἀξιολόγους ἡγεμόνες, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Δαναὸς καὶ Κάδμος τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανέστατοι· ὁ δὲ πολὺς λεὼς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ἰουδαίαν. Diodor. Excerpt. apud Photium Lib. XL.

(3) Numbers XIV. v. 4.

(4) Exodus XII. v. 38.

much

much cattle; and I find the Jewiſh Rabbies make theſe a diſtinct people from the Iſraelites. But they ſeem to me to be only their ſervants or ſlaves, diſtinguiſhed from the fighting men, muſtered juſt before at Six hundred Thouſand; attendants upon the camp, baggage, and cattle; the *Lixi*, or *Calones*; for without ſuch a company an army is ſcarce ever known to march. Theſe might be a mixture of Egyptians, or other people, and probably hired for the ſervice. We find that they were the (1) firſt who began to murmur; poſſibly becauſe in their diſtreſſes they fared harder than the reſt of the army. Mutinies broke out at ſeveral times, and even (2) after the death of Moſes. Therefore whether Danaus and Cadmus were at the head of the mixt multitude; or were rather Hebrew murmurers, as ſeems moſt likely to me; in a caſe ſo obſcure every man muſt be left to his own judgment. Cadmus was certainly a perſon of abilities, and of great conſideration among the exiles; and from the (3) name of his capital city, and the model of his new State, in Bœotia, we may, not without reaſon, take him to have been ſome bold rival of Moſes or Joſhua.

Letters came from Moſes, or from the Phenicians.

We live in an age and country, where a Chriſtian is in danger of reprehenſion, who ſhould affirm that Letters were diſcovered by a God or by ſome divine man, though a (4) heathen might openly

(1) Numbers XI. v. 4.

(2) Joſhua IX. v. 18.

(3) *Cadmus urbem ſuam Ebræo nomine appellavit Thebas, nempe* תבה *quod Navem ſignificat; a navicula qua trajecerat.* Selden. De Diis Syr. Prol. c. 2.

(4) Ἐπειδὴ φωνὴ ἄπειρον κατενόησεν εἴτέ τις Θεὸς, εἴτε καὶ Θεῖος Ἄνθρωπος κλ. Plato Vol. 2. pag. 18. Ed. Serran. *Quid illa vis, quæ tandem eſt, quæ inveſtigat occulta?*

profeſs ſuch an opinion. I hold myſelf therefore excuſed from declaring, That the firſt alphabet was marked out by the finger of God; or that even Moſes was the author of it. Let it be left to the judgment of the reader, whether he received it from the Phenicians, or they from him; for, from what appears at preſent, it muſt come from the one or the other. We are ready enough to give the teſtimony of an heathen author its due weight, when brought in competition with the Scriptures; and if we deal impartially, cannot refuſe it in this caſe. (1) Eupolemus aſſerts in expreſs terms that "Moſes firſt delivered "letters to the Jews, from whom the Phenicians received "them, as the Greeks from the Phenicians." This aſſertion too is confirmed by (2) Diodorus; who ſays "The Sy-"rians were the inventers of letters, from whom the Phe-"nicians learnt them, and conveyed them to the Greeks." When we compare this paſſage of Diodorus, with the teſtimony of Eupolemus an older author, there can be no doubt, that Diodorus by *Syrians* here meant the *Jews*, Judea being a province of Syria. Thus (3) Herodotus ſpeaking of the great battle of Magdolus, or Megiddo,

ta? — aut qui ſonos vocis, qui infiniti videbantur, paucis literarum notis terminavit? — Philoſophia vero omnium mater artium, quid eſt aliud, niſi, ut Plato ait, Donum, ut ego Inventum Deorum? Ciceron. Tuſc. Quæſt. Lib. I.

(1) Εὐπόλεμος δὲ ὁ Μωσῆν φησὶ πρῶτον σοφὸν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ πρῶτον παραδοῦναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πρῶτον, παρὰ δὲ Ἰουδαίων Φοίνικας παραλαβεῖν, Ἕλληνας δὲ παρὰ Φοινίκων. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. IX. c. 26. Clement. Alex. Strom. Lib. I. p. 343. Eupolemus, Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo, are mentioned with reſpect by Joſephus, as having written with more accuracy of the Jewiſh affairs, than any other heathen authors. Joſeph. Lib. I. c. Apion.

(2) Σύροι μὲν εὑρεταὶ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ εἰσι, παρὰ δὲ τούτων Φοίνικες μαθόντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι παραδεδώκασι. Diodor. Lib. V.

(3) Καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδώλῳ ἐνίκησε. Herod. Lib. II. §. 159.

wherein

wherein king Joſiah was ſlain, ſays, that "Pharaoh Ne-"cho obtained this victory over the Syrians." Diodorus often mentions theſe firſt, or Syrian, letters, as uſed by Semiramis, Darius Hyſtaſpis, the Arabians after the time of Alexander, and as being different from the Greek; tho' the latter were certainly derived from them.

The Arabians not the Inventers of letters.

We affirm then upon the authority of heathen authors, that "Moſes firſt "gave letters to the Jews;" and no authority can be produced, to ſhew that any nation uſed them before. (1) Plato has amuſed his readers with a conference between Thamus king of Egypt and his miniſter Thoth, upon the ſubject of letters; and would perſwade us that the diſtinction of Mutes and Liquids was known at that time: but that this is all fabulous, will appear preſently. The only ſpecious argument for the antiquity of letters before Moſes, is taken from the book of (2) Job; where we are told of *Words written or engraved with a pen.* Job as appears from the hiſtory was an Idumean, or Arabian; and, no mention of the Jewiſh law being found in the book, is ſuppoſed to be an old patriarch, who lived before Moſes: this prevailed with (3) Sir Iſaac Newton ſo far as to make him think, that Moſes learnt the alphabet from the Midianites, who were Arabians. But it ſhould be conſidered that the book of Job is poetical and dramatical; and that it is in the power of poets to draw characters, that ſhall ſuit with the

(1) See his Phædrus and Philebus.
(2) Cap. XIX. v. 23, 24.
(3) See Chronology of Egypt. Pag. 205. 8vo.

patriarchal

patriarchal times, tho' the authors themſelves lived long after. The age of the book, of which I pretend not to be a judge, is much controverted among the learned: ſome make Solomon the author, others bring it down to the times of the captivity. However granting that it is of the higheſt antiquity; nothing more, I think, can be inferred from the paſſage, than that the Arabs had at that time the art of publiſhing their thoughts by writing or engraving; which might be done other ways than by alphabetical letters. Of all nations, the Arabians ſeem to be one of the laſt that were acquainted with letters. Their moſt ancient characters are called the *Cufic*, and thought to be but little older than the Saracen empire. They are ſtill to be found in ſome few books, and on the Silver coins of the firſt Caliphs an alphabet conſiſting of Twenty Two letters, in name and order anſwering to the Syriac, and ſeemingly derived from it. This ſimilitude, between the Cufic and Syriac, may poſſibly raiſe a doubt, whether of the two is the older: and thoſe, who are ſwayed by Sir Iſaac Newton's opinion, may be ſanguine enough to pronounce in favour of the Cufic, that "Theſe are the "letters meant in the book of Job." But what, I think, invalidates all pretences of this kind: (1) The Arabian

(1) For this information I am obliged to my learned friend the Reverend Mr George Coſtard, who was pleaſed to tranſlate for my uſe, the following paſſage from an Arabic author of good note. *The firſt perſon who wrote Arabic was Iſhmael... but the Truth as it is agreed upon among the Men of Learning is, that is was Morâmer Ebn Morrah the Anbarite; and it is ſaid that from the Sons of Morrah and the Anbarites, writing (Arabic) ſpread amongſt other people. Al-Aſmahi ſays, they tell you that the Koreiſh were aſked from whom did you learn writing and that they anſwered from Hirah. That the people of Hirah were aſked from whom did you learn writing and they ſaid from the Anbarites. Ebn Al-Habli and Al-Heiſham Ebn Admi relate that the perſon who brought this way of writing*

 from

writers themſelves acknowledge the novelty of their alphabet.

from Hirah into Al-Hegaz was Harb the Son of Omyah the Son of Abdol' Shems the Son of Abd Menâf the Koreiſhite of the Family of Omyah; that he went into Al-Hirah and returned to Meccah with this way of writing. Both theſe writers likewiſe ſay that Abi Sofian the Son of Harb was aſked from whom did your Father receive this form of writing and that he ſaid from Aſhlam Ebn Sidrah, and that Aſhlam being aſked from whom did you receive writing, his Anſwer was from the Perſon that invented it Morâmer Ebn Morrah; and that they received this form of writing but little before Iſlamiſm. Ebn Chalican in his Life of Abul' Hoſen Ali Ebn Helâl called Ebn Al Bowâb. NB. *Abi Sofian was Mahomets great Oppoſer when he ſet up for a Prophet.* Dr Pococke has given us the ſubſtance of this paſſage, but has added a caution at the end. *Hæc autem quæ diximus, potius de Koraiſhitis, aliiſque Arabum Iſmaemitarum tribubus, quam de Hamyarenſibus intelligendum; in confeſſo enim eſt fuiſſe illis jam antea notam ſcribendi artem.* Specimen Hiſt. Arabum Oxon. 1648. pag. 154. The Hamyarites were an ancient kingdom in Arabia Felix, that flouriſhed in the times of *Ignorance*, according to the diſtinction of their writers. *Status Arabum Ignorantiæ temporibus robore & potentia celebris eſt. Fuitque regnum ipſorum penes tribus* Kahtan, *& præcipua regum familia apud* Hamyarenſes, *e quibus fuerunt Reges, Domini, Tyranni, & Tobbai.* Specimen Hiſt. Arab. pag. 2. The Hamyarite way of writing was different from that of the Mahometans: *Characteres eorum ab illis quibus utuntur Arabes multum diverſi, quod genus ſcripturæ* Al Moſnad *vocabant, literis inter ſe implexis minimeque diſtinctis, quas tamen vulgo diſcere non permittebant, nec cuipiam, niſi poſt impetratam ab ipſis veniam, iiſdem utendi facultatem.* Idem pag. 155. Till a ſpecimen of this occult writing can be produced, I humbly conceive from the deſcription of it, that it may remain a doubt whether *Al Moſnad* was not a ſort of hieroglyphic: or if it conſiſted of alphabetical letters, how long the Arabians uſed it before the Cufic. What credit the whole hiſtory of the Hamyarite dynaſty may deſerve, I leave to be determined by the reader, after he has peruſed the following paſſage. *Ultimum hunc (Dul Jadan) ſtatuit Abul Feda Regum Hamyarenſium, quorum imperium, juxta ipſum, duravit annos* 2020, *at ſecundum Al Jannabium & Ahmedem, ultra* 3000. "*Quot annos ſinguli regnarunt non deſignavimus, inquit, quod omnino in-*
"*certum ſit, quod iis vulgo attribuitur ſpatium. Unde eſt quod dixerit Author Æ-*
"*rarum i. e.* Hiſtoriæ Gentium, *non eſſe inter omnes hiſtorias minus ſana, quam*
"*hiſtoria regum Hamyarenſium; cum pro tot annorum ſpatio tam paucos reges nu-*
"*merent. Sex enim & viginti reges numerant, quorum regnum* 2020 *annorum ſpa-*
"*tium complet.*" Idem pag. 62. If we admit Sir Iſaac Newton's method of computation, by twenty years to a reign, the beginning of the Hamyarite dynaſty ſcarce reached ſo high as the Chriſtian æra.

There

The Greeks had letters before the Canaanites and Phenicians.

There are different opinions about the time of Moſes, and no leſs diſagreement among authors about the age of Cadmus; but upon the general view of the hiſtory of their times, I think there could not be many years diſtance between them. Cadmus was certainly later than the other; and the time of his coming into Europe, according to Diodorus, could not be long after the (1) Exodus: and therefore I take the alphabet of Cadmus to be one, and the ſame, with that of Moſes. The Jews, as they were unmixt with other nations, in all probability kept the ſecret of letters to themſelves for a conſiderable number of years. *Moſes* (2) *Wrote the law and delivered it to the prieſts*; ſo that letters ſeem at firſt to have been locked up in the book of the Law, and therefore not to be communicated to the

(1) To give my readers the beſt information I am able, about the time of this great event, the tranſmigration of letters into Europe; I will here fix the time of the Exodus, according to the judgment of a late worthy friend, whoſe accurate skill in chronology is well known to the learned. The Sum of his argument ſtands thus.

The Sothiac, or Canicular, period of the Egyptians, beginning July 20th, contained Egyptian years —— ——	1461.
A New Canicular period commenced July 20th, in the Conſulſhip of Antoninus P. and Bruttius Præſens, in the year after Chriſt — *(Vid. Cenſorin. de Die Natali.* c. 21.)	139.
Therefore the Old Canicular period began in the year before Chriſt	1322.
Moſes came out of Egypt 345 years before this period began — *(Vid. Clem. Alexand. Strom. Lib.* I. *pag.* 335.)	345.
Therefore the Exodus happened in the year before Chriſt ——	1667.

See Mr Maſſon's *Sacred Chronology of the Pentateuch:* printed at the end of Mr Parker's *Bibliotheca Biblica.* 4to. Oxon. 1727.

(2) Deuteron. Cap. XXXI. v. 9.

heathen. It was probably ſome time, before they were uſed by the Jews themſelves in tranſacting their ſecular affairs; and therefore could not be eaſily known to their enemies, unleſs by ſome extraordinary accidents. For this reaſon I cannot believe that the Canaanites, and Phenicians knew letters near ſo early, as ſome authors have imagined, nor indeed till long after the Greeks; nor that Cadmus was a Canaanite, or Phenician.

The Samaritan the primitive Alphabet of Moſes and Cadmus.

The learned of late have wiſhed, and (1) propoſed methods, to diſcover the firſt alphabet of Moſes; which I think may be done without much difficulty. For if we compare the oldeſt alphabet of Judea, with the oldeſt alphabet of Greece, and find that they agree in the main; we may be ſaid in effect to have found the primitive alphabet, both of Moſes and Cadmus. Allowance muſt be made for time and improvement, when the agreement between ſpeech and letters came to be more nicely examined. The firſt alphabet probably conſiſted of a few letters; till the number increaſed, from perhaps Sixteen to Twenty Four, and in ſome countries to Twenty Eight, Thirty, Fourty, and more. The alphabet was never a matter of legal inſtitution, and therefore liable to alterations in every age and country. It was adopted by common conſent of nations, as a thing of univerſal benefit; and then left to the diſcretion, or caprice, of ſcribes, who formed the letters in various attitudes, erect, inclining, ſupine, or reverſed;

(1) See *A Journey from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, and back again: By the Prefetto of Egypt. With remarks on Hieroglyphics and the Heathen Mythology.* By Robert Lord Biſhop of Clogher. 1753.

but

but ſtill preſerved the eſſential ducts. The oldeſt letters, now to be found on monuments, are the Greek written from the left hand; unleſs it may be thought that ſome of the Etruſcan inſcriptions, which begin from the right, may be of equal, if not ſuperiour, antiquity. The Etruſcan letters are for the moſt part the Greek inverted, and therefore probably the older alphabet of the two. For the conſtant practice of thoſe nations, who were firſt acquainted with letters, has been always to write from the right hand: and the Greeks themſelves at firſt wrote in that way, as we ſhall ſhew in a proper place. The Jewiſh letters do not appear on monuments, till that nation coined (1) money in the time of the Maccabees: and theſe are the letters preſerved by the Samaritans after the captivity. They likewiſe (2) agree very well with the Etruſcan, and therefore have the beſt claim to be called the oldeſt alphabet. The Samaritan characters on the coins are a little different from thoſe which we find in manuſcripts; and in the ſame manner, the letters on the older coins and marbles of the Greeks are more rude than thoſe which were uſed in the time of Alexander the great: but this is no more than might be expected from improvement. The Syrians likewiſe afterwards gave a more beautiful turn to the forms of the letters, but in a manner different from the Greeks. By the primitive traces the (3) learned find the Aſſyrian, Chaldee, or common Hebrew characters derived from the Samaritan; and I take the Syriac to be de-

(1) Vide Hadr. Reland de Num. Vet. Hebr. Traject. 1709.

(2) Vide Chiſhull NATURÆ ATQUE ORBIS ALPHABETUM. Antiq. Aſiat. pag. 24.

(3) V. Ern. Loeſcher De Cauſis Linguæ Hebrææ. Franc. 1706.

rived

rived from the Chaldee: and that theſe are three different gradations of the Jewiſh alphabet. The coins of the (1)Syrian kings, ſtruck near two thouſand years ago, have inſcriptions both in Greek, and in the letters of the country; and theſe laſt are very unlike the modern Syriac, but approach near to the Samaritan; which therefore ſeems to have been at that time the vulgar character of the whole Syrian empire. Theſe letters being found on ſtones and coins of the maritime cities of Syria, has given occaſion to call them Phenician: which is only a tacit confeſſion, that they are the oldeſt alphabet, or the letters mentioned by Eupolemus and Diodorus.

Moſes and Cadmus could not learn the Alphabet in Egypt.

Let us next enquire, whether there are any grounds to think, that Cadmus was an Egyptian; and here we muſt expect to meet with oppoſition, both from ancients and moderns. The preſent age has been immoderately prejudiced in favour of the Egyptians and their learning; nothing of this ſort is thought to have eſcaped them; all other nations in compariſon are looked upon as barbarous. But if they had no better claim to other inventions, than they had to that of letters, I think we might be a little more ſparing of our praiſes. The high opinion that has been entertained of their ſkill in ſpeculative philoſophy, mathematicks, &c. I am afraid, is not ſo much owing, to any real merit of theirs, as to our ignorance of what it was; for ignorance is the mother of admiration. Their ancient hiſtory appears to be as fabu-

(1) Vaillant Hiſt. Reg. Syr. Num. Demetrii Secundi, & Antiochi Septimi. Haym Teſor. Britan. Vol. I. Num. Demetrii Tertii. & pag. 105, 106, 107.

lous,

lous, obſcure, and confuſed, as any other. The remains of their greateſt works only ſhew, that their country was once very populous, and abounded with the beſt materials for building; and that they ſpared no coſt or pains in raiſing ſtupendous monuments. Even in theſe they have been (1) rivalled by barbarous nations; and in the finer arts of Statuary and Drawing, were far excelled by the Greeks and Romans. The Greeks however, who were

(1) The learned are too apt to overlook the monuments of their own, and other countries, which ought to raiſe their wonder no leſs than thoſe of Egypt. Thus our monuments of Stonehenge and Abery, required as much skill in mechanics, as to raiſe the Obelisks. And perhaps as much art was uſed in tranſporting thoſe bulky monuments to Rome, as in cutting them out of the quarries in Egypt. Statues of Giants, magnificent ruins of buildings, Portals, Pedeſtals, &c. monuments ſeemingly of the firſt ages, are found in Peru. See Garcilaſſo de la Vega, Book I. c. 1. Two Pyramids of the ſame form with the Egyptian, have been found in Mexico. See Gemelli Careri, Par. IV. Book 2. c. 8. p. 546. Coll. Voyag. Theſe may poſſibly give ſome light into the age and authors of the other; and ſhew that they were built ſoon after the repleniſhing of the earth, and by Northern artiſts. For I make no doubt, but many more monuments of this kind might be diſcovered, if the North Eaſtern deſarts of Aſia were as carefully ſurveyed as thoſe of Egypt and Libya. The miſſionaries, if I miſtake not, found a pyramid near the ruins of an ancient city in Chineſe Tartary. See Du Halde's Hiſt. of China. Vol. 4. p. 108. 8vo. Gemelli Careri adds that the uſe and deſign of the Mexican Pyramids was for baſes, or altars, to the two deities whom they worſhipped, the Sun and Moon; whoſe broken images lay at a little diſtance from the Pyramids. And this notion, of the Egyptian Pyramids being deſigned for Altars, has I think been entertained by ſome of our own learned men. And Wanſlebius ſays, that there are evident marks of a Coloſſal Statue having been once placed on the top of the largeſt Pyramid. Of all the wonders that Herodotus ſaw in Egypt, he was moſt aſtoniſhed at the houſe of Amaſis, cut out of one ſtone, and after a voyage of three years inceſſant labour, under the conduct of 2000 pilots, brought from Elephantis to Sais. Herod. Lib. II. But even this is matched by another, of nearly the ſame form and dimenſions, called the *Dwarfy Stone*, now to be found in the Highlands of Scotland. See Wa lace's Additions to the Britannia, in Orkney Iſlands, Iſle of Hoy. pag. 1085. Ed. 1695.

only

only travellers into Egypt, are ſuppoſed to have brought away abundance of knowledge; how much more muſt the Jewiſh Legiſlator, who received his birth and education there, and was certainly inſtructed in all their learning? Writing is ſaid to have been firſt found out by their (1) Thoth or Mercury, Moſes therefore could not be ignorant of the art of letters; nor will ſome people ſubmit to believe, that he could learn it any other way. But I think it ought firſt to be made appear, that the Egyptians underſtood this art, which has not hitherto been done. Moſes often cautions his people againſt the cuſtoms of Egypt, and in this has moſt remarkably diſtinguiſhed the two nations: for the Second Commandment ſeems directly levelled againſt the Egyptian manner of writing. So that wherever Moſes learnt his art, neither he, nor Cadmus, I think, could learn it in Egypt.

The Egyptians had no Alphabet.

I can allow the Egyptians all the wiſdom and learning, that is commonly aſcribed to them, without admitting that they underſtood elementary letters. What knowledge they had was kept pretty much among themſelves: not that I believe they made ſo great a ſecret of it, as is pretended, but revealed it to any one who would be at the expence of it. Their (2) books, being written

(1) *Literas ſemper arbitror Aſſyrias fuiſſe; ſed alii apud Ægyptios a Mercurio, ut Gellius: alii apud Syros repertas volunt.* Plin. Lib. VII. c. 56. *Ægyptii literarum ſemet inventores perhibent; inde Phœnicas quia mari præpollebant intuliſſe, gloriamque adeptos tanquam reppererint quæ acceperant.* Tacitus Annal. Lib. XI. c. 14.

(2) Books of this ſort were in being in the laſt century, if we may believe Athanaſius Kircher, or rather his correſpondent. *P. Joſephus Marcellaia retulit, ſe dum in Ægypto degeret hanc bibliothecam* [in Madraſe Cayri] *luſtraſſe, multaque millia MSS. comperiſſe, quos tanta cuſtodiunt cura, ut nulli ſub pœna capitis inde librum extrahere liceat; addit quoque ſe inter cætera admiratum eſſe certos quoſdam*

in Symbolic and Hieroglyphic characters, were unintelligible to thoſe nations, that knew the uſe of an alphabet. It required ſome time, pains, and inſtruction, to become acquainted with them; and this made initiation into their learning and myſteries, ſo tedious a buſineſs. If the firſt Hermes Triſmegiſtus, Taautes, or Thoth, was the inventer of their letters, as (1) ſome have aſſerted, this will carry their antiquity almoſt as high as the Gods. And if the ſecond Hermes or Thoth, ſecretary of Oſiris, who is the perſon meant by (2) Plato and Diodorus; this will ſtill raiſe them ſome centuries above the time of Moſes. But in anſwer to all this, it may be replied, that the words Στοιχεῖα, Γράμματα, *Literæ*, tho' they properly ſignify elements, yet when applied to Egyptian writing, will (3) mean only Hieroglyphic marks, or characters. The letters therefore which the firſt Thoth carried into Egypt, or the ſecond, ſince authors are pleaſed to diſtinguiſh them, invented there, ſeem to have been no more than Hieroglyphics; for if the Egyptians ever received alphabetical let-

quoſdam papyraceos codices, ſeu hieroglyphicos, iis figuris quæ in obeliſcis Romanis conſpiciuntur, conſcriptos; & quamvis Turcæ nullam fere, ſi Alchoranum excipias, librorum curam ſuſcipiunt, horum tamen, ob antiquitatem, magnam curam haberi. Ling. Ægypt. Reſtit. Rom. 1643. Pag. 512. But their oldeſt books were Walls and Pillars inſcribed with Hieroglyphics. Such are thoſe at Dendery, or Tentyris, in upper Egypt, which Paul Lucas delineated; and from him Dr Perry, Travels. pag. 364. which are ſo numerous, that the building may rather deſerve the name of a Library, than a Temple; and perhaps ſerved for both.

(1) Sanchoniathon Phœnic. Hiſt. apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang.

(2) Phædrus. Vol. 3. p. 274. Ed. Serran. Diod. Hiſt. Lib. I. p. 10.

(3) *Sculpturæ illæ effigieſque quas videmus Ægyptiæ ſunt* LITERÆ. Plin. Hiſt. Lib. XXXVI. c. 8. Δύο μὲν Κωὰς, ἕνα δὲ Ἑρμῆν, καὶ Ἶριν μίαν, φέρουσι, καὶ καλοῦσι τὰ τέτταρα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων εἴδωλα ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ. Clem. Alexand. Strom. V. p. 567. Ed. Sylb.

ters, they either made but little uſe of them; or have been unfortunate in not preſerving them upon their ancient monuments. The Pyramids, which I take to be the oldeſt of all, have no characters of any kind. The Obeliſks and Mummies contain only Hieroglyphics. And as the Obeliſks were without queſtion deſigned for publick monuments, I can never believe that they preſerve any myſterious ſcience known only to the prieſts; but that they were to be read and underſtood by all people. The ſame may be ſaid of the Mummies, tho' of a leſs publick nature: and therefore I conclude that they had no other ſort of writing. If the famous (1) *Menſa Iſiaca* ſhould prove to be only a Calendar or Almanack, as I think I have ſomewhere read, it will be a further confirmation of my opinion. We find indeed upon all theſe monuments ſome characters of a more ſimple form, and which have ſeemingly leſs of picture in them; and (2) learned men, if they pleaſe, may call theſe alphabetical letters; tho' no one yet has been able to form the alphabet. They are intermixt with the others, and ſeem to be of the like import; that is, to ſignify things, whole words, or ſentences. Few of them bear any ſimilitude to other alphabetical letters; and I believe that ſuch a variety of them may be found, as will be ſufficient to conſtitute ſeveral full alphabets of twenty four letters each. I do not remember to have ſeen more than one Egyptian inſcription, that could deſerve the name of alphabetical writing, and it is

(1) Vide Laurent. Pignorium Menſ. Iſiac. Explic. Ven. 1605. Montfaucon Antiq. Expl. Tom. II. p. 338.

(2) *Ægyptios ſubinde Hieroglyphicis notis vulgares Alphabeti literas inſeruiſſe.* Kircher Hiſt. Obel. Pamph. Art. I.

that

that (1) given us by P. Montfaucon. But we are not told from whence this monument came; and, beſides its ſingularity, it appears at firſt ſight to be different from thoſe very ancient ones, of which we have ſo many hundreds now remaining in Europe, and which are undeniably Egyptian. If I may be permitted to paſs my judgment upon it, I cannot think it ſo old as the time of the Ptolemies; nor that it was done in Egypt, but in India; and that the characters belong to ſome one or other of thoſe Indian nations, to whom the Egyptians carried their rites and ſuperſtitions, after their empire was deſtroyed by Cambyſes. If a people ever uſed alphabetical writing, it muſt undoubtedly appear upon their publick monumental inſcriptions, if they had any, as the Egyptians had: and therefore whatever may be advanced to the contrary, by inference from ancient writers; or the moderns have aſſerted upon their own authority; ought to have but little weight againſt this negative evidence. Upon the whole I conclude, that the Egyptians were entirely ignorant of an alphabet, till they received what is called the Coptic; which whether introduced in the time of the Ptolemies, or much earlier, under Pſammitichus or Amaſis, is many ages later than Cadmus, and plainly derived from the Greek.

The Greeks had no alphabet before Cadmus.

That Cadmus was the firſt who brought letters into Greece, is, I think, a fact as well atteſted as any in antiquity. And yet it is the opinion of ſome late eminent authors that the Greeks had

(1) Antiquit. Expliq. Vol. II. Par. 2. Pl. CXL.

(1) an alphabet before his time: and some (2) ancient accounts say that he only changed the forms of the letters. That the Greeks, like other nations, had a way of writing long before, is unquestionable; but that it was by an alphabet, is by no means clear to me. The judgment of Herodotus ought to be decisive in the case, if well supported, as I think it is. (3) Those Phenicians, says he, "who came with Cadmus, from whom came the Gephy-"reans, inhabiting that country [Tanagra in Bœotia] in-"troduced many arts, and amongst the rest that of Let-"ters; the Greeks having none before, as it seems to me." There is a passage from a more ancient author quoted by Diodorus, which has been judged to contradict this opinion of Herodotus; but, as far as I can see, entirely agrees with, and confirms it. Here if I differ from much abler criticks, I hope it will be taken in good part, as my intention is only to vindicate the passage from the suspicion of absurdity or corruption, with which it has been charged; to make it consistent with itself and other histories; and this without adding, altering, or omitting, a single letter in the original. (4) "Dionysius the Milesian

(1) Jac. Palmerius in Græcia Antiq. c. 9. pag. 49, 50. J. Bouhier De priscis Græcorum & Latinorum literis, ad finem Palæographiæ Montfaucon. Jackson Chronological Antiquities Vol. 3.

(2) Οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὑρεῖν [Cadmum] ἀλλὰ τοὺς τύπους τῶν γραμμάτων μεταθεῖναι μόνον. Diodor. Lib. V. p. 235. Diodorus seems to mention this only as a report of the Cretans.

(3) Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι, οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν ἔσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἀλλά τε πολλὰ, οἰκήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώρην, ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· καὶ δὴ καὶ Γράμματα οὐκ ἐόντα πρὶν Ἕλλησιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν. Herodot. Lib. VI. §. 58.

(4) Φησὶ τοίνυν [Dionysius Milesius] παρ' Ἕλλησι πρῶτον εὑρέτην γενέσθαι Λῖνον ῥυθμῶν καὶ μέλους· ἔτι δὲ Κάδμου κομίσαντος ἐκ Φοινίκης τὰ καλούμενα ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταθεῖναι διάλεκτον, καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἑκάστῳ τάξαι, καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας διατυπῶσαι.

"ſays, that Linus *the Theban Poet* was the firſt inventer "of rythms and melody; and that Cadmus bringing with "him from Phenicia what we call Letters, *Linus* firſt in- "troduced them into the Greek language, and gave each "their (a) names, and copied their (b) forms: Letters "therefore were called by the common name of (c) PHE- "NICIANS, becauſe the Greeks received them from the "Phenicians; but from the (d) Pelaſgians being the firſt "who uſed theſe *newly* (e) introduced characters, they "were called by their own name PELASGIC *Phenicians.*" This is the ſenſe of the paſſage, as it appears to me; which I ſhall beg leave to illuſtrate by a few notes.

(a) *Their names.*] Their firſt and foreign names were *Alph*, *Beth*, *Gaml*, *Dalth* &c. with Eaſtern terminations, which ſounded unnatural in the Greek idiom. The Maſter of harmony therefore called them *Alpha*, *Beta*, *Gamma*, *Delta* &c.

(b) *Their Forms.*] Theſe too accorded with the Eaſtern manner of writing, from the right hand to the left; and were ſo uſed by Linus and the Pelaſgians. The Ionians, or later Greeks, afterwards inverted the forms, to accommodate them to their way of writing from the left hand to the right; from whence they were called IONIC LETTERS. Nevertheleſs the firſt, or Pelaſgic, way of writing was not totally diſuſed till many ages after, as appears by the names of kings and cities, now

συμ. κοινῇ δὲ τὰ γράμματα ΦΟΙΝΙΚΙΑ καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ διὰ τὰς Ἑλλάδας ἐκ Φοινίκων μετενεχθῆναι· ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ Πελασγῶν τρόπον τινὰ χαρακτῆρσι ΜΕΤΑΤΕΘΕΙΣΙ χρησαμένων τοῖς Πελασγικὰ προσαγορευθῆναι. Diodorus Lib. III.

to

to be found on (1) Greek coins, ſtruck near a thouſand years after the time of Cadmus: and from the Sigean and other inſcriptions, which are wrote both ways βυστροφηδὸν as they called it, the letters being retrograde, and the line returning back like the Ox in plowing. It was to avoid the inconvenience of inverting the forms, that the later additional letters, as H, Θ, Ξ, Φ, X, Ψ, Ω, were made of ſuch a figure as to be uſed both ways.

(c) PHENICIANS.] Here I take the word (2) Φοινίκια for a ſubſtantive; and if I am miſtaken, err with a profeſſed grammarian. ΦΟΙΝΙΚΙΑ. Λύδοι ἢ Ἴωνες Γεφύματα. Heſychius. So that Γεφύματα, *Letters*, or *Gravings*, was only a ſecondary name, given them from the way of forming them; nor does it ſeem to have been known to Homer, who never once uſes it. I need not put the reader in mind of our own practice, in calling things by the names of the countries from whence they came; as Turkeys, Guineas, Hollands, &c.

(d) *Pelaſgians.*] The word means no more than the older inhabitants of Greece, in contradiſtinction to the Hellenes. In the days of Cadmus there were no other than Pelaſgians. But when the poſterity of Deucalion

(1) Inſtances of this ſort are found for the moſt part on the oldeſt coins; hundreds might be produced from Goltzius, Spanheim, Paruta, Begerus and others. And yet I cannot wholly aſcribe this practice to an affectation of antiquity; but ſometimes to the inaccuracy, or indifference of the Coiner. For as the word was eaſily underſtood, which way ſoever wrote, he might ſometimes forget, at other times might not give himſelf the trouble, to reverſe the letters on the Dye.

(2) I ſince find that the word Φοινικήϊα, in Herodotus and others, tho' it ſeems to be more of an adjective than ΦΟΙΝΙΚΙΑ, is yet uſed ſubſtantively in the Teian DIRÆ inſcription: Η. ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗΙΑ ΕΚΚΟΨΕΙ. i. e. AUT LITERAS ERASERIT. Chiſhull Ant. Aſiat. p. 98.

had

had diſpoſſeſſed them of their ſeats, the Greeks began to be called Hellenes, Æoles, Dores, Iones, &c. However ſome Pelaſgians ſtill remained in Italy and other places, and preſerved their old language; which Herodotus called Barbarous, as being ſo very different from the Greek of his own time. This revolution though it produced by degrees a great change in the Greek tongue, yet wrought none in the letters, till long after. (1) Linus wrote the exploits of the elder Bacchus in Pelaſgic letters; Orpheus, and Pronapides Homer's maſter, and Thymœtes another old poet, are ſaid to have uſed the ſame, and to have wrote in the old, or Pelaſgic, language. And perhaps Homer's and Heſiod's works were the firſt, that were written in the Ionic or Hellenic Greek, and in the righthanded character. The people of Attica, who never yielded the point of antiquity to any other nation of Greece, tho' they uſed the Cadmean, or Pelaſgic, letters, yet called them (2) ATTIC, as if they were the growth of their country. That the Attic letters were of the ancient form, is certain: Ἀτθικοῖς Γράμμασι, ἀντὶ Παλαιοῖς. Harpocration. Ἀτθικὰ Γράμματα. Τὰ ἀρχαῖα, ὀπισθόεια. Heſychius: and it is certain that they were different from the Ionic: Σωσθένεις ἀεὶ δ' τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπιλιτεύοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἰώνων. Theopompus apud Harpocration.

(1) Τὸν δ' οὖν Λίνον φασι τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς γράμμασι συνταξάμενον τὰς τοῦ πρώτου Διονύσου πράξεις· — ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις χρήσασθαι τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς γράμμασι τὸν Ὀρφέα καὶ Πρωναπίδην τὸν Ὁμήρου διδάσκαλον — πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Θυμοίτην τὸν Θυμοίτου — ἀρχαικῶς τῇ τε λέξει καὶ τοῖς γράμμασι χρησάμενον. Diodorus Lib. III.

(2) *Unæ ſolummodo Athenæ legis prætextu centum fere annis reſtitere: unde factum, ut Cadmeæ Literæ non raro apud hiſtoricos ſub ATTICARUM nomine celebrentur.* Chiſhull in Inſcript. Sigeam Cap. III.

(e) *Newly*

(e) *Newly introduced.*] I tranſlate the word Μεταθεῖσι in the ſame ſenſe, in which the verb Μεταθεῖναι was uſed juſt before; which I think the true and natural conſtruction. If it ſhould be taken in the ſenſe of *Altered* or *Changed*, it may perhaps mean no more than the other: the Greek Characters, Symbols, or Hieroglyphics, being now changed into Alphabetical letters.

Linus the firſt refiner of the Greek language.

I adviſe the reader not to overlook that circumſtance of Linus's being the inventer of Rythm and Harmony; which ſeems to be mentioned not without a peculiar propriety. For Language being now reduced to its elements, he was enabled to form the rules for this art; which could be but very imperfectly done before that time. And here I think we ought to give Linus, tho' a Pelaſgian, and a Bœotian, the honour of being the firſt refiner of the Greek tongue.

The Pelaſgians brought letters into Italy.

The Latines, as all authors agree, received their letters from the Greeks. Here tho' the hiſtory is not ſo dark, as that of Cadmus, yet it is not entirely free from obſcurity. Pliny ſays in general that (1) The "Pelaſgians brought Letters into Latium." This is indefinitely expreſſed, without note of time, or diſtinction of places: Latium may be taken for all Italy, and the Pelaſgians were ſpread over all Greece. The intercourſe between Greece and Italy began with the Titan empire, and firſt ages of navigation. The ſtory of Saturn and Janus is

(1) *In Latium literas attulerunt Pelaſgi.* Hiſt. Lib. VII. c. 56.

ſo

ſo very particular, that we can hardly think it a mere poetical invention. Janus ſeems to have been a petty prince, or viceroy, under Saturn, whilſt he held the ſovereignty: and that Saturn retired to him after his depoſition, or abdication, as (1) Lucian will have it, the memory of the Golden age, ſo religiouſly preſerved in Italy, ſcarce leaves us any room to doubt. The inhabitants of both countries ſeem to have had the ſame original, ſpoke the ſame language, had the ſame cuſtoms, and in ſhort were (2) Scythians. The Aborigines, as they are called, or firſt people of Italy, were reckoned barbarians, and ſo were the Pelaſgians; but both ſeem to have been as much civilized, as any other nation of their time: at leaſt we may think that they began to be civilized in the days of Janus and Saturn. Long after this, (3) Oenotrus ſon of Lycaon, an Arcadian, brought a colony into Italy, from whom the country was called Oenotria; but this migration goes too far back into the fabulous ages, to be determined with any certainty as to time.

(1) Vide Lucian. Saturnalia.

(2) *Unde autem hi coloni* [Auſones] *profecti ſint, & quæ prior illis patria fuerit, difficile dictu eſt, cum veteres hic altiſſime ſileant, Ælianus* αὐτόχθονας *pronunciet, Var. Hiſt. Lib.* 9. *c.* 16. *Quod ſi conjecturis hic indulgere licet, Scythicæ originis ſuſpicor, præcipue ex moribus & corporis proceritate, quibus hic populus inſignis fuit.* Theod. Ryckius, De Primis Italiæ Colonis. Cap. 2. The Auſones, called alſo Oſci and Opici, were the firſt inhabitants of Italy; Euſtathius ſays, that they were ſo called from Auſon, Son of Atlas and Calypſo.

Ἐκ Διὸς Αὐσονιῆες, ἀεὶ μέγα κοιρανέοντες. Dionyſ. Periegeſ. v. 78.

Λέγονται δὲ Αὔσονες ἀπὸ Αὔσονος ὃς πρῶτος μὲν τῶν κατὰ Ῥώμην βασιλεῦσαι πρός τινων ἱστορεῖται, Ὀδυσσεῖ γεγονὼς ἐκ τῆς Κίρκης· ἢ, κατὰ τὰ Ἐθνικὰ Γράψαντα, ἐκ Καλυψοῦς γεννηθεὶς τῷ Ἄτλαντι. Euſtath. in locum.

(3) Πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι πραιωθέντες τὴν Ἰώνιον κόλπον ᾤκησαν Ἰταλίαν, ἄγοντος αὐτοὺς Οἰνώτρου τοῦ Λυκάονος. Dion. Halic. Lib. I. pag. 9.

Pelasgian settlements in Tuscany.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, from authors now lost, has preserved a more accurate account of some later Pelasgic settlements. (1) "Hellanicus the Lesbian says, "that the Tyrrhenes were formerly called Pelasgians, and "that they took the name of Tyrrhenes after they settled "in Italy. In his Phoronis he has these words: *Phrastor* "*was the son of their king Pelasgus and Menippe the daugh-* "*ter of Peneus*; *Amyntor was son of Phrastor*; *Teutami-* "*des of Amyntor*; *and Nanas of Teutamides*; *in whose* "*reign the Pelasgians were driven out by the Hellenes*; "*and landing, and leaving their ships in the river Spines,* "[or Po] *seized upon the inland town Croton* [or Cortona] "*and making incursions from thence, founded at last what* "*is now called Tyrrhenia,*" or Tuscany. This colony, as he tells us afterwards, came from (2) Hæmonia, now called Thessaly: and they were probably some of the first Pelasgians driven out by Deucalion, or his sons.

The Colony under Evander.

Again he says, (3) "Not long after this, about Sixty years before the "Trojan war, according to the Ro-

(1) Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος τοὺς Τυρρηνούς φησι Πελασγοὺς πρότερον καλουμένους, ἐπειδὴ κατῴκησαν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, παραλαβεῖν ἣν ἔχουσι προσηγορίαν· ἔχει δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Φορωνίδι ὁ λόγος ὧδε. Τοῦ Πελασγοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν καὶ Μενίππης τῆς Πηνειοῦ ἐγένετο Φράστωρ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀμύντωρ· τοῦ δὲ Τευταμίδης· τοῦ δὲ Νάνας· ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος οἱ Πελασγοὶ ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ Σπινῆτι ποταμῷ ἐν τῷ Ἰωνίῳ κόλπῳ τὰς νῆας καταλιπόντες, Κρότωνα πόλιν ἐν μεσογείῳ εἷλον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Τυρρηνίαν ἔκτισαν. Dion. Halic. Ant. Lib. I. p. 22.

(2) Ἔπειτ' οἱ μεταστάντες ἐκ τῆς μὲν τότε Αἱμονίας, νῦν δὲ Θετταλίας Πελασγοί. Id. p. 49.

(3) Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον στόλος ἄλλος Ἑλληνικὸς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία Ἰταλίας κατάγεται, Ἑξηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἔτει τῶν Τροικῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσιν, ἐκ Παλαντίου πόλεως Ἀρκαδικῆς ἀναστάς· ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας Εὔανδρος· — Ὁ δὲ στόλος οὗτος οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τῆς γνώμης ἐπέμφθη, ἀλλὰ στασιάσαντος τοῦ δήμου, τὸ ἐλαττοθὲν ἑκούσιον μέρος ὑπεξῆλθεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τότε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων παρειληφὼς Φαῦνος. — Λέγονται δὲ καὶ Γραμμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν χρῆσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρῶτοι διακομίσαι, νεωστὶ φανεῖσαν Ἀρκάσι. Dion. Halic. Lib. I. p. 24, 26. *Evander tum ea,*

"man account, another fleet of Greeks arrived on the "ſame coaſt of Italy, from Palantium a town in Arcadia, "under the conduct of Evander. — This colony was not "ſent out by general conſent of the citizens; but the peo- "ple being divided into two factions, [I ſuppoſe Pelaſ- "gians and Hellenes] the weaker party retired of their "own accord. — Faunus was then king of the Aborigines. "— Theſe are reported to be the firſt who brought into "Italy the uſe of the Greek Letters, which were then but "newly known to the Arcadians." Criticks, from the mention of theſe two colonies, have raiſed a difficulty, where I think there was no occaſion; by making an unneceſſary (1) diſtinction between Pelaſgians and Arcadians. For if all the inhabitants of the ſeveral diſtricts of Greece, in the ſame manner, were to be reckoned diſtinct from the Pelaſgians; the latter would have no place left them in the country, tho' they were confeſſedly in (2) poſſeſſion of the whole. Both colonies therefore were Pelaſgians the firſt of Theſſaly, the ſecond of Arcadia; for it is certain that (3) Pelaſgia was the old name for both thoſe countries.

ea, profugus ex Peloponneſo, auctoritate magis quam imperio, regebat loca, Venerabilis Vir miraculo Literarum, *rei novæ inter rudes artium homines.* Liv. Hiſt. Lib. I. c. 7.

(1) *Sed ſive Pelaſgis, ſive Arcadibus, is debetur honos, in eo Tacito Plinioque convenit, quod uterque Latinos a Græcis eas* [literas] *velit accepiſſe.* Voſſius Grammat. Lib. I. c. 11.

(2) Δοκεῖ δέ μοι οὐδὲ τοὔνομα τοῦτο [Ἑλλὰς] ξυμπασά πω εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ Ἕλλυνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος, καὶ πάνυ οὐ δὲ εἶη ἡ ὀπίκλησις αὕτη, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἀλλά τε, καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ὀπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, παρέχεσθαι. Thucydides Hiſt. Lib. I. Τοὺς δὲ Πελασγοὺς, ὅτι μὲν ἀρχαῖον τι φῦλον κατὰ τὴν ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΠΑΣΑΝ ἐποπόλασε. Strabo Geogr. Lib. V. Τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος πρότερον ἢ ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΗΣ καλουμένης. Herodot. Lib. I. c. 58.

(3) Θεσσαλία ἀπὸ Θεσσάλου, ἡ πρότερον Πελασγία. Steph. Byzant. Ἀπὸ τούτου ἢ [Arcade] βασιλεύοντος Αρκαδία τε, ἀντὶ Πελασγίας, ἡ χώρα, καὶ ἀντὶ Πελασγῶν Αρκάδες ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Pauſan. Arcad. p. 459.

We see that both colonies landed in Tuscany, and that both were driven from Greece in the time of the Hellenes: and it does not appear, nor is it probable, that the first colony brought letters with them: therefore we may securely fix the Æra of letters in Italy, to the time of Evander, or Sixty years before the war of Troy.

Æneas's colony of Phrygians.

After the destruction of Troy, Æneas came with his colony of Phrygians, and has not a little eclipsed the glory of Evander; the Romans choosing to derive their descent from the Trojans, rather than the Greeks. But the Greek colony seems to have laid the foundation of all the Roman greatness; as the emperor (1) Antoninus Pius afterwards acknowledged, by the many favours which he conferred upon the town of Pallantium. The Æra of Evander began the Second Age of politeness in Italy: when the introduction of letters improved old arts, and gave birth to new ones. The Tyrrhenes or Etruscans were the first polite people; and we find that they grew to be such by the revolutions in Greece. The most ancient works of art, that Italy can boast of at present, are of the Etruscans. Their rites sacred and civil were examples to other nations, as the Samnites, Sabines, Romans, &c. And before they had lost their power, and were incorporated into the Roman state, we find the (2) youth of Rome were

(1) Ρωμαίων μέρος τ̃ καθ' ἡμᾶς πόλεως, ὅπερ ᾠκεῖτο ὑπὸ τ̃ Εὐάνδρου καὶ Αρκάδων τ̃ συνακολουθησάντων, ὄνομα ἔχει Παλλάντιον, κατὰ μνήμην τ̃ ἐν Αρκαδίᾳ. Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μετέπεσε τὸ ὄνομα ἐν ἀναιρέσει γραμμάτων τοῦ τε Λ καὶ τ̃ Ν. Τούτων μὲν τ̃ λεγομένων εἵνεκα Παλλαντιοῦσιν ἐκ βασιλέως [Antonino P.] ἐγένοντο δωρεαί. Pausanias in Arcad. p. 525, 526.

(2) *Cære educatus apud hospites* [M. Fabius Cæso] *Etruscis inde literis eruditus erat, linguamque Etruscam probe noverat. Habeo auctores, vulgo tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Græcis, ita Etruscis literis erudiri solitos.* Liv. Hist. Lib. IX.

instructed

inſtructed in the Etruſcan language, by way of accompliſhment.

The Pelaſgic language and letters preſerved by the Etruſcans.

The Etruſcans then were the firſt who received letters, and I think we may venture to call them the Pelaſgic letters. Perhaps we might proceed a ſtep further, and aſſert that theſe letters have likewiſe preſerved the Pelaſgic language: for I know not in what ancient monuments it is to be found, unleſs in the Etruſcan Inſcriptions.

The declenſion of the Etruſcan language and letters.

When a nation is arrived to a certain pitch of politeneſs, it often becomes a prey to another leſs civilized: this was the caſe with the Etruſcans and Romans. The Romans, if we conſider their firſt beginning, were the very (1) dregs of the people of Italy; but by ſubmitting to wholeſome laws, a conſtant exerciſe of arms, and a ſteady adherence to virtue, they raiſed themſelves to a ſuperiority over all the reſt. Their language was at firſt the language of Italy; a mixture of Pelaſgic dialects, from the Etruſcans, Oſcans, Sabines, Samnites, and others. This language was improved by their conqueſts, but came not to its full growth, till the fortune of Greece declined; and brought the Romans to an acquaintance with the more refined Greek language, which ſoon made its way into their own. That grace, harmony, and majeſty, ſo much admired in the Roman language,

(1) *Et tamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas*
Nomen, ab infami gentem deducis aſylo:
Majorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo. Juvenal Satyr. VIII. v. 272.

ſeems

ſeems to be derived from adopting the Greek into it; tho' after all it never came up to the other. As the Romans increaſed in power, the Etruſcans, who before were the moſt accompliſhed nation, ſunk in eſteem, as is uſual with a conquered people; but under theſe diſadvantages ſtill cultivated the polite arts, and preſerved their old way of writing. It would be flattering their memory too much, to ſay that their performances in ſculpture and painting, vied with the finiſhed pieces of the Greeks in the time of Alexander; for then they Greeks had attained to ſuch a perfection in thoſe arts, as never ſince could be equalled. After the cuſtom of their anceſtors, the Etruſcans committed their records to the moſt durable materials, Stones and Braſs; which by good fortune have long outlived their language. This language too was only an obſolete Greek, which became generally neglected, ſo as not to be underſtood by their maſters: though when learning was at its greateſt height in Rome, they looked upon it with a more favourable eye, as being the parent of their own; and then began to ſtudy it as a ſcience.

The Etruſcan monuments and inſcriptions.

The Etruſcan language being at length extinct, the materials deſigned to preſerve it were ſoon deſtroyed, or buried in ruins; the too common fate of monuments wherever ignorance prevails. Here they underwent a long night of oblivion, till the revival of true learning, which is always accompanied with a veneration for antiquity. Theſe monuments, as time and chance brought them to light, were carefully preſerved by perſons of curioſity; who though they underſtood them not, yet judged that hereafter they might be intelligible to others,

others, and therefore worth preſerving. It is more than a (1) century ſince ſome of theſe inſcriptions have been made publick, and in this laſt age a new ſcene of literature has been opened by their means. Whole (2) volumes have been filled with Etruſcan ſculptures and inſcriptions, and attempts have been made to illuſtrate and explain them. It is to be wiſhed that ſucceſs may anſwer the generous intentions of thoſe learned perſons who have undertaken the taſk; but at preſent I am obliged to ſay, that they ſtill continue doubtful, if not as obſcure, as before. And I deſpair of ſeeing them explained to any purpoſe, till they are taken in hand by ſome one well ſkilled, not only in Greek and Latin, but in the Hebrew, and its kindred dialect the Britiſh or Celtic. Thus much I thought proper to ſay in behalf of our ancient language, which, not without ſhame be it ſpoken, is now as much deſpiſed by Engliſhmen, as it is eſteemed by the learned in foreign parts.

The Etruſcan letters Pelaſgic, the Roman Ionic.

The (3) Italian antiquaries confeſs the difficulty of explaining theſe monuments, and ſeem not entirely agreed among themſelves, even a-

(1) Vid. Bernardinus Baldus Divinat. in Tabulam Æneam Eugubinam lingua Hetruſca veteri perſcriptam. Aug. Vind. 1613.

(2) Vid. Ant. Fran. Gorius Muſeum Etruſcum exhibens inſignia veterum Etruſcorum monumenta Æneis Tabulis 200 edita & illuſtrata. 3 Vol. Florent. 1737. Tho. Dempſter De Etruria Regali Lib. VII. Florent. 1723. Muſeum Florentinum. Flor. 1731, 1732, &c. Scipio Maffei Muſeum Veronenſe. Veron. 1749. Muſeum Cortonenſe. Rom. 1750, &c.

(3) *Non deerunt qui opinentur Etruſcorum explicationem me aggreſſurum eſſe, a quo tamen conſilio ego quidem longiſſime abſum: hoc ſcilicet eruditionis genus a Græca & Romana tam diverſum, ac diſſitum eſt, tot præterea tenebris circumvolutum & obſitum, ut paucis diſcuti ac pertractari nequaquam poſſit.* Scip. Maffei Muſ. Veron. Præf. pag. 11.

bout

bout the names of the letters. One who has very well deserved of the learned world, and of this province of Literature, (1) denies that they are Pelasgic, "Because formed "from the right;" which is the very reason I assign for their being Pelasgic. A no less able antiquary of that country without scruple (2) calls the Etruscan letters Pelasgic, in which I think he is right; but not so, when he calls them Latin, at the same time. The Etruscan, it is true, were the oldest letters of Latium, but Seignior Gori rightly distinguishes between the Etruscan and Latin, or what may be more properly called the Ionic, or Roman, letters. (3) Pliny says "The ancient letters of the Greeks "were the same as the Latin;" but he must here mean the old Ionic letters, which were undoubtedly the same with the Roman; being written from the left hand, the way used by the Romans: and so (4) Tacitus is to be understood, when he says "The forms of the Latin letters "were the same with the oldest of the Greeks." The Ionic way of writing did not universally prevail even in Greece, till ages after it was found out. The (5) Athenians did not comply with it till the Archonship of Euclides A.V.C. 350. The Sigean inscription which is older

(1) *Nam characteres Etrusci plane sunt a dextra sinistrorsum scripti; quum Pelasgici qui iidem prorsus ac Latini sunt, a sinistra dextrorsum tendant.* Fr. Gori. Prol. ad Mus. Etrusc. pag. 54.

(2) *Siquidem hoc certum est adeo quam quod certissimum, characteres Tabularum* [Eugubinarum] *Pelasgicos esse ac Latinos.* Scip. Maffei Orig. Etrusc. & Latin. pag. 63.

(3) *Veteres literas Græcorum easdem esse ac Latinas.* Hist. Lib. VII. c. 58.

(4) *Et forma literis Latinis, quæ veterrimis Græcorum.* Annal. Lib. XI. c. 14.

(5) Τὸς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἔπεισε χρῆσθαι τῶν Ἰώνων γράμμασιν Ἀρχίνους ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐπ' Ἄρχοντος Εὐκλείδου. Suidas in Σαμίων ὁ Δῆμος.

than

than that Æra, begins with Ionic writing; but the line returns in the Pelaſgic manner, as the Etruſcans wrote. In time, as (1) Pliny ſays, "The tacit conſent of all na-"tions agreed to uſe the Ionic letters." But the Etruſcans never conſented, for they wrote ſtill in the Pelaſgic way. When then did the Romans conſent? I anſwer, about the time of Tarquinius Priſcus their fifth king. (2) Tacitus aſſigns two Epochs for the reception of the Greek letters; "The Etruſcans in Italy, ſays he, received their letters "from Damaratus the Corinthian; the Aborigines from "Evander the Arcadian." Damaratus the Corinthian fled from the tyranny of Cypſelus about the beginning, or perhaps the middle, of the ſecond Century of Rome; and if he brought letters with him, as Tacitus ſays, I think they muſt have been the new or Ionic alphabet; as being different from what the firſt Etruſcans, or Aborigines, had received from Evander, above five hundred years before. Tarquinius Priſcus was the ſon of Damaratus, and probably introduced his father's letters into the Roman language. (3) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſpeaks of a Pillar remaining in his time in the temple of Diana at Rome, "With an "Inſcription in Latin letters, whoſe forms were ſuch as "the Greeks anciently uſed." But I ſuppoſe, that theſe were only the oldeſt Ionic letters, the pillar being ſet up by Servius Tullus, the ſucceſſor of Tarquinius Priſcus.

(1) *Gentium conſenſus tacitus omnium conſpiravit, ut Ionum literis uterentur.* Hiſt. Lib. VII. c. 57.

(2) *Literas in Italia Etruſci ab Corinthio Damarato, Aborigines ab Arcade Evandro acceperunt.* Annal. Lib. XI. c. 14.

(3) Αὐτὴ διέμεινεν ἡ Στήλη μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ τῆ Αρτέμιδος ἱερῷ κειμένη γράμμασι τῶν ἐγχωρίων χαρακτῆρας Ελληνικῶν, οἷς τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ελλὰς ἐχρᾶτο. Antiq. Lib. IV.

Pliny likewiſe proves from the Delphic braſs table preſerved in the Palatine Library, (1) "That the ancient Greek "letters were almoſt the ſame with the Latin letters of his "time:" and the inſcription, as he has given it, ſhews that they were only Ionic letters. After the Romans had eſtabliſhed the uſe of the Ionic letters, they ſeem not to have acknowledged the Etruſcan to be a Greek alphabet. The moſt learned of them knew none older than the Ionic: as appears from the Greek (2) Farneſe inſcriptions of Herodes Atticus. This learned man, out of a ſacred regard to antiquity, cauſed the oldeſt orthography to be obſerved in the writing, and the letters to be delineated after the moſt antique forms that could be found: and they are plainly no other than the Ionic, or righthanded characters.

All Alphabets derived from one.

All Languages were derived from one; and it is but reaſonable to think the ſame of all alphabets. Nor is it eaſy to ſay which of the two has been moſt corrupted: it being as hard a matter to diſcover the original of ſome alphabets, as of the languages themſelves. It is much to be regretted, that the publick paid no attention to the

(1) *Veteres Græcas fuiſſe pene quæ nunc ſunt Latinæ, indicio erit Delphica Tabula antiqui æris, quæ eſt hodie in Palatio, dono principum Minervæ dicata in Bibliotheca, cum Inſcriptione tali.* ΝΑΤΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΤΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ Ο ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ. Plin. Hiſt. Lib.VII. c. 58.

(2) Vid. Cl. Salmaſii Duarum Inſcriptionum Veterum Herodis Attici & Regillæ conjugis explicatio. Lut. Pariſ. 1619. Scaliger Animadverſ. in Euſebium. pag. 110. Montfaucon Palæogr. Græc. p. 135. Chiſhull Antiq. Aſiat. p. 11.

propoſal

propoſal which (1) Mr Wanley once made, to give us the hiſtory of all the different alphabets of Europe; a work not likely to be undertaken in this age, and perhaps the next may want materials for it. We ſhall only remark that the firſt alphabets conſiſted of what we now call Capital Letters; and that the Greek and Roman letters, which prevailed for the moſt part in Europe; by degrees decreaſed in their ſize, for the ſake of diſpatch in writing; which produced all thoſe alphabets of ſmall letters, that we find in MSS. corrupted from the larger ones, according to the genius and humour of different countries.

The Runic, or Gothic, from the Greek.

It does not appear, what letters the moſt ancient Celtæ uſed in writing; the remains of their language now to be found in books, being written in the common character of the country, where their deſcendants lived. I think it may be taken for granted, that they made uſe of hieroglyphics only, as we ſaid before of the Scythians in general. But the Goths are an exception; for they had an alphabet peculiar to themſelves, conſiſting formerly of (2) ſixteen letters, which is thought to be the juſt number in the Greek and Pheni-

(1) *Si publico jubente, & ſub publicis auſpiciis id mihi demandatum foret, ut Hiſtoriam Literarum ſcriberem, quibus populi Europæi, præſertim Græci, Romani, Hiſpani, Galli, Hiberni, Anglo-Normanni, &c. in omni tempore uſi ſunt, ut omnia mea ſtudia in illud conferrem; ſic benevalere & vivere Deo largiente, non dubito, quin eo officio ita perfungerer, ut nullius expectationem fallerem.* Præf. ad Lib. Anglo-Sax. Catal.

(2) Ὡς ἐδηλώσαν οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀφ' ἧς ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ φεύζοντες ἀποχρώντως καὶ γεγράφοντες. Plutarch Quæſtion. Platon. Τὰ τε δὴ ᾠρῶτα, καὶ Φοινίκεια ἀφ' Κάδμον ὠνομασμένα, ΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΣ ἢ ΤΕΤΡΑΣ ἀγάκειται. Idem Sympos. Lib. IX. Prob. 3.

cian alphabets. The (1) Runes, or Runic letters, are properly ſpeaking the Old Gothic; what we have learnt, ſince the diſcovery of the CODEX ARGENTEUS, to call the *Gothic letters*, being comparatively modern, invented by Ulphilas about fourteen hundred years ago; or rather taken by him moſtly from the Greek and Latin capitals of that age, as will appear upon comparing them: but the Runic letters are found on coins, and other monuments of ſtone, ſome of which may be near two thouſand years old, or upwards. Therefore before the diſcovery of the *Codex Argenteus*, we find the (2) learned were at a loſs, not knowing how to reconcile the hiſtorians to matter of fact: for they ſuppoſed the Goths to have had no letters beſides the Runic; which yet, it was plain, were not invented by Ulphilas. I ſhall not attribute ſo great antiquity to the Gothic or Runic alphabet, as (3) ſome have done, ex-

(1) RVNER. Runæ, or Runes, is a common word ſignifying not only the Gothic Letters, but *Writings* and *Writers*. The learned are not agreed about its derivation. Sir H. Spelman derives it from Rŷne i. e. *Myſterium*. Vid. Ol. Wormius Lit. Runica. c. 1. Stiernhelm from ᚱᚢᚾᚨ i. e. *Diſcere*, *Experiri*, *Erudiri*. Præf. ad Evang. Goth. Wormius from Ryn. *Sulcus*, i. e. *Exaratio*. Lit. Run. c. 1. The Runic alphabet is a corruption of ſome other, but ſtill preſerves a ſort of ſimplicity and uniformity. But what ſhall we ſay to the liberty, that has been taken with this alphabet? by diſtorting the forms, changing the order and powers of the letters, ſo as to make the language almoſt a myſtery, and the inſcriptions unintelligible. The reader may find a vaſt number of theſe barbarous Runic alphabets, as they are called, collected into one view, by the great Dr Hickes, in the third part of his *Theſaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*; a work held in the higheſt eſteem by every nation in Europe, except That to which it has done ſo much honour.

(2) Vid. Olaus Wormius Liter. Run. p. 116. Mareſchall. Obſervat. in Verſion. Gothic. p. 386, 387.

(3) *Unde jam manifeſtiſſime apparet, lapſum fuiſſe Reverendiſſimum Dominum Salicæum Archiepiſcopum Toletanum, dum exiſtimavit Alphabetum literarum Gothicarum fuiſſe primum Alphabetum & primos characteres primo parenti datos.* F. Louys Portugaize

ceeding all bounds of credibility; nor can I believe that it is older than the Greek, as (1) others contend; nor yet can I think with (2) Salmaſius, that it is derived from the Roman. But from the ſimplicity of the letters, and other circumſtances, I judge it to be exceedingly ancient; and that it was formed from ſome alphabet of the Greeks, whilſt it conſiſted of Sixteen Letters only; and after they had left the Eaſtern way of writing from the right hand.

ᚠ. ᚢ. ᚦ. ᚨ. R. ᚴ. ᚼ. I. ᛅ. ᚾ. ᛏ. B. ᛚ. ᛘ. ᛦ.
F. U. D. O. R. K. H. N. I. A. S. T. B. L. M. YR.

This is the old alphabet of the Runes, conſiſting of Sixteen letters in their proper (3) order; before the reſt were added, to compleat the number of Twenty Four, conformable to other alphabets.

The order of the Runic Alphabet.

The alphabet is an endleſs fund of enquiry to the learned; much has been written by the ancients, Greeks and Romans,

Portugaize de ſon Globe des Canons SS. apud Claud. Duret. Threſor de l'Hiſt. des Langues. Col. 1613. p. 860.

(1) *Quin tanta omnino ſit cum Græcis Danicarum Literarum affinitas, ut de originis & antiquitatis prærogativa certare videantur neminem dubitare poſſe arbitror:* Ol. Worm. Liter. Run. c. 22. Vide etiam Ol. Rudbec. Atlant. Par. I. p. 841.

(2) *Certe & Dani literas inde ſuas videntur accepiſſe quas vocant Runicas. Nam forma earum ex Græcis omnino efficta & expreſſa videtur. Niſi quis potius putet a Romanis imitatas, & inde dictas* Runicas *quaſi* Rumicas, *id eſt* Romicas. *Licet etiam a Græcis Conſtantinopolitanis, qui* Ρωμαῖοι *proprie appellantur,* Runicas *dictas opinemur. Arabes quoque appellabant* Rum & Rumi *Romanus.* De Helleniſt. p. 382.

(3) The order of the alphabet is determined by the Dominical letters joined with the Golden Number in the Calendar: three arbitrary characters, of no ſignification, being added to make the number Nineteen. Vid. Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. c. 14. 18. Et Faſti Danici.

mans, and more by the moderns, concerning the number, order, figure, and powers, of the letters; and we ſtill find the ſubject not yet exhauſted. I can hardly perſwade myſelf, that the author of the Runic alphabet intended to confound the order of the Phenician or Hebrew letters; but that if he had copied from either, as they now ſtand, he would have given them the ſame place, as the Greeks have done. The Etruſcan alphabet conſiſts of only Thirteen letters, and theſe we may range according to the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman, alphabets; but their ſituation with reſpect to each other cannot now be aſcertained upon any authentic foundation; and poſſibly it might be the ſame with this of the Runes; of which they likewiſe bear as near a reſemblance, as of the Greek and Hebrew.

The Digamma the firſt letter in the Runic Alphabet.

In the oldeſt alphabets we find ſome letters, whoſe powers are unknown, or at leaſt doubtful, at preſent, as in the א and י of the Hebrews. The ſame thing has happened to the Runic; where the power of the letter ᚫ is uncertain, whether it is vowel, diphthong, or conſonant; (1) ſome making it the final R, others the letter Y, ſome the diphthong AV. But what I think deſerves more notice; that moſt ancient letter of the Greek alphabet, the Æolic Digamma, leads up the reſt: the reaſon of this I ſhall endeavour, as well as I am able, to explain.

(1) Olaus Wormius Literat. Run. c. 12. p. 78. Verelius Runographia Scandica pag. 32. Olaus Rudbeck Atlant. Par. I. c. 38.

The

The Digamma a note of guttural aſpiration.

The Digamma, ſo called from its figure, reſembling one Gamma ſurmounting another, was always acknowledged to be a letter of the Greek alphabet. Its (1) form is well known, but neither its power, nor place in the ſeries, have been thoroughly underſtood. It ſeems to me to have been an auxiliary letter (2) prefixed to ſome particular ſyllables, to denote that they required a ſtronger force in ſpeaking; and was of the moſt general uſe in pronouncing the oldeſt languages, which, as all know, were chiefly guttural. It was neither vowel nor conſonant, but a letter or note of aſpiration; and for this reaſon was placed at the head of the alphabet. The uncouth harſhneſs of aſpirating words in the initial, middle, and final ſyllables, brought it into diſuſe with the Greeks in general, when they came to ſtudy the harmony of language; and at length made it (3) ceaſe to be a letter.

(1) *Eadem litera ſcilicet* V, *Digamma a Græcis vocatur, quando ſibimet aliiſque vocalibus jungitur; quæ ideo Digamma dicitur, quia duplex eſt inſtar* F *literæ, quæ duplex Gamma habet.* Iſidor. Orig. Lib. I. c. 4. Σύνηθες γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ελλησιν, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, προτιθέναι τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὁπόσων αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀπὸ Φωνηέντων ἐγίνοντο, τὴν ΟΥ συλλαβὴν ἑνὶ στοιχείῳ γραφομένην· τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὥσπερ ΓΑΜΜΑ ΔΙΤΤΑΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΜΙΑΝ ΟΡΘΗΝ ΕΠΙΖΕΥΓΝΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΛΑΓΙΑΙΣ. ὡς Ϝελένη, καὶ Ϝάναξ, καὶ Ϝοῖκος, καὶ Ϝανὴρ, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. Dionyſ. Halic. Ant. Lib. I. p. 16.

(2) *Quod Digamma, niſi Vocali præponi, & in principio ſyllabæ, non poteſt.* Priſcian. p. 547.

(3) The Roman Criticks rejected ſeveral letters upon the ſame account. *Autoritas tam Varronis, quam Macri, teſte Cenſorino, nec* K, *nec* Qu, *neque* H *in numero adhibet literarum.* Priſcian. apud Putſch. Voſſius Gram. p. 81, 82.

The

The Æolic Digamma. a labial aſpirate.

The (1) Æoles, who retained this letter longeſt, mitigated its harſhneſs, by giving it the ſound of the labial aſpirate, the Roman F, or Greek Φ *Phi*, by which name it is ſtill known in the Runic. The letter F is the ſixth in the Roman alphabet, the place of the Hebrew ו *Vau*, *Waw*, or rather *Whaw*; which is now pronounced as an hard F, or V conſonant, but was formerly the aſpirate. The moderns have been miſled by the authority of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, Priſcian, and other grammarians, who ſeem to have known only this ſecondary ſound of the Digamma; but to have been wholly ignorant of its firſt power, as a guttural. The Runic ᚠ *Phi*, or *Fee*, in its primitive northern pronunciation ſeems to have been the ſame with our *Ch*, *Gh*, *Qh*, or *Wh*, a deep guttural aſpirate. Its ſound is for the moſt part loſt in the weſtern languages of Europe, but Engliſh men and others preſerve ſome traces of it, as appears from their way of ſpelling words, compared with the pronunciation of them.

Common to all the nations of Europe.

When the Digamma became ſoftened into F, or *Phi*, it was not confined to the Æoles, but common to all the nations of Europe. Where therefore we meet with the ſound of F, we ſometimes find the remains of the rougher letter. As for inſtance, the Engliſh

(1) Αλλοι μὲν Ελληνες δασυνουσι τὰ Φωνήεντα· Αιολεῖς δὲ ἀδαμῶς. Apollon. Alex. de Syntax. Lib. I. p. 44. *Sciendum tamen quod hoc ipſum,* [Digamma] *Æoles quidem ubique loco aſpirationis ponebant, effugientes ſpiritus aſperitatem.* Priſcian. fol. 3. F *Æolicum Digamma, quod apud antiquiſſimos Latinorum eandem vim quam apud Æoles habuit: eum autem prope ſonum quem nunc habet* F, *ſignificabat* P *cum aſpiratione.* Idem pag. 2.

words

words pronounced *Laff*, *Draft*, *Enuff*, and the like, are by good luck ſtill ſpelt (1) *Laugh*, *Draught*, *Enough*; which proves that their firſt pronunciation was guttural. In like manner the Sclavonian names *Menzikow*, *Czernikow* &c. with a guttural termination, are pronounced *Menzikoff*, *Czernikoff*. On the other hand, the true ſound of the Gothic ᚦᚨᚾ, or *Lord*, is ſtill preſerved in the aſpirated ſyllable HAN of the Tartars, or CHAN of the Perſians: and (2) Salmaſius obſerves, that the number which Engliſhmen call *Fower*, and the Germans *Vier*, the ſame Perſians pronounce GHIHAR. Thus the Spaniards ſeem to preſerve the primitive ſound in the words *Haba*, *Habla*, *Hado*, *Hembra*, *Hogo*; though they were written by the Romans, *Faba*, *Fabula*, *Fatum*, *Femina*, *Focus*; and *Hijo*, *Filius*, is in Greek ϒΙΟϚ.

The Digamma not appropriated ſolely to vowels.

As the vowel ſounds conſtituted the eſſence of a ſyllable, the Digamma principally belonged to them, and wherever it is found, I think, could hardly be without its power and effect: tho' a very great (3) critic is of opinion, that it was quieſcent between two

(1) Accordingly near a thouſand years ago, to Laugh was Lihan, to Drag or Draw Dpazan, and Enough was Enoh, in ſome places ſtill pronounced Enow.

(2) *Sic ergo Perſis* GHIHAR *pro* FIHAR, *vel* FIER. Salmaſ. de Helleniſt. p. 389.

(3) *Nunc vero ut idem Vau quieſcit, & hiatum inter duas vocales ſine ſono implet.* Chiſhull Antiq. Aſiat. p. 19. The true Greek Digamma, if I remember right, is only once to be found upon an authentic monument; viz. The Delian inſcription given us by Mr Tournefort. Travels Vol. I. p. 319. which inſcription, by the by, I take to be the oldeſt now in being.

. . ΟΑΓΥΤΟΛΙΘΟΕΜΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΣΚΑΙΤΟΣΦΕΛΑΣ

Τῦ αὐτῦ λίθυ εἶμι ἄνδριας καὶ τὸ σφέλας

Ejuſdem lapidis ſum ſtatua & baſis.

 I cannot

vowels. Nor was it appropriated ſolely to the vowels, as the ancients thought, but was ſometimes affixed to conſonants, as particularly to the (1) Greek P, or *Rho*, which is naturally a guttural, as is C, G, K, Q; and in the moſt ancient languages the (2) letter L. For, to omit an hun-

I cannot ſee the reaſon for placing the Digamma here, in the word AFTTO, if it was intended to be *quieſcent* only. For if the Greeks at that time pronounced AT as a diphthong, it ſeems abſurd to interpoſe a third letter. Was it therefore placed there to aſpirate the diphthong, as in ἑαυτῆ? Or rather was it not deſigned to diſtinguiſh the vowels, as in ἑωϋτῆ; and to ſhew that they did not coaleſce in a diphthong? But that the ſecond vowel was to be aſpirated, and ſo the word to be made a triſyllable, as AHTTOT. This I think moſt probable, as diphthongs were at that time very rare: for ει and ου we ſee, are wrote ε and ο; nor does it appear that KAI was not a diſſyllable, and ſhould be wrote καϊ. Priſcian, where he ſpeaks of the Digamma, quotes from the poet Alcman the word ΔAFION, which ſhould be wrote Δάϊον, or perhaps rather Δαΐον, an inſtance that ſeems to make for our purpoſe. He mentions beſides ſome names which he found on the tripod of Apollo at Byzantium, as ΔEMOΦOFON, ΛAFOKOFON: theſe words could never be read in the Æolic manner DEMOPHOVON, LAVOCOVON, but rather Δημοφοῶν, Λαὸκοῶν; *Hiatus cauſa, ſolebant Æoles interponere* F *Digamma*, as he ſays; that is, That the aſpirate might fill up the *hiatus* between the vowels. Many ſyllables of Greek words, in later times pronounced with a ſoft breath, were at firſt aſpirated; of which the Sigean inſcription alone will afford us more than one inſtance, as in HEΘMOΣ, HAISOΠOΣ, HAΔEΛΦOI: to which we may add thoſe of Dionyſius, as above, FANAΞ, FOIKOΣ, FANHP, and many others.

(1) *Per* ϖρόσθεσιν, *quam vocant litera additur, aut initio nominis, aut in medio, aut in fine. Initio ut* βρόδον *pro* ῥόδον *apud Æolios. Sed illud* β *videtur eſſe loco Digammæ, quia* ῥόδον *adſpiratur. Hoc igitur pro* Fρόδον: *quomodo Æoles* τὸ ῥόδον *pronuntiabant. Sed Æoles nihil adſpirabant. Loco enim adſpirationis Digamma ponebant. Quod Digamma litera erat, & in numero literarum ponebatur.* Salmaſ. de Helleniſt. p. 64.

(2) Lh *elementum, lingua in primorem palati regionem valido niſu impulſa, ſonoque per dentes utrinque maxillares halituoſe emiſſo, profertur. Eſt autem Britannis adeo ϧeculiaris & propria, ut apud nullos alios Europæ incolas (quod ſciam) reperiatur.* Henr. Salesbury Gram. Britan. Lond. 1593. 8vo. *Tradit Jo. Aventinus veteres Germanos* L *cum aſpiratione uſurpaſſe. Quod etiam nonnulli exiſtimant de* ל *Hebraico.* Jo. Davies Linguæ Cambro-Britan. Rudimenta. Lond. 1621. pag.

dred inſtances of the ſame kind, the ſyllable which Engliſhmen in the Æolic way pronounce FLOYD, in true Celtic orthography is LHVYD; a name ever to be remembered with reſpect by Britiſh antiquaries.

Aleph the Hebrew Digamma.

The affinity between alphabets, when diſcovered, ſhews that all were derived from the Hebrew or Cadmean; in which this remarkable letter could hardly be wanting. And I think we need not deſpair of finding it; tho' not in the (1) place where it is commonly looked for; but in the front of the alphabet, as in the Runic. For the Hebrew (2) *Aleph*, tho' made a vowel by the Greeks, will, I believe be found to be no more than a Digamma, or mark of aſpiration. The oldeſt form of the *Gamma* now extant, as in the (3) Sigean and (4) Baudelotian inſcriptions, is not erect, but ſtooping ^: the Digamma accordingly, in the (5) Delian inſcription, is a reclining ⊢: and *Aleph* appears under the like form in the oldeſt al-

pag. 7. Verelius thought this property of the letter was peculiar to the Runic. ᚴ *reſpondet Latino* L. *Hoc autem peculiare habet, quod cum in aliis linguis ſit dentale, apud nos gutturale eſt, & exteris pronunciatu inſuetum.* Verelii Runographia Scandica. pag. 32.

(1) In the place of Vau.

(2) The name of this leading letter, viz. Aleph or Alph, ſignifying in Hebrew an Ox or Heifer, (whence the fable of Cadmus's Cow) was at firſt pronounced gutturally, as its property required; and therefore the learned Meric Caſaubon was not deceived in his conjecture. *Mihi certe magis arridet hæc conjectura, quod & Anglicum* Calf *ex eodem Hebraico verbo* Aleph, *quatenus Bovem ſignificat, fluxiſſe pene mihi perſuadeo.* De Quatuor Linguis. pag. 40.

(3) Chiſhull Antiquit. Aſiat. pag. 4.

(4) Montfaucon Palæograph. Græc. pag. 135.

(5) Tournefort's Voyages Vol. I. p. 319. Montfaucon Palæogr. p. 122. Chiſhull Antiq. Aſiat. p. 16.

phabets, ſuch as the (1) Samaritan, and (2) Etruſcan. And even the firſt letter, or vowel A of the Greeks and Romans, was only a Digamma ⅄, as the letters were delineated from the right hand.

The mutilated Digamma.

When the ſound of languages grew ſofter, and the alphabet began to be enlarged, the Digamma was neglected; and before it was quite extinct, became mutilated in its figure: the upper tranſverſe ſtroke being taken away, as thus ⊢; or when they wrote βȣϛροφηδὸν thus ⊣; for I take both the one and the other to mean the aſpirate, and not to be underſtood, as if the latter had a (3) contrary ſound to that of

(1) Vid. Alphabeta Phœnicia & Samaritana, apud Montfaucon Palæograph. p. 122.

(2) See the Etruſcan Alphabet by Mr Swinton in the Univerſal Hiſtory. Vol. 16. 8vo.

(3) I am not ignorant that Quintilian, and the Roman Grammarians, who followed him, are point blank againſt me in this caſe: *An rurſus aliæ redundent præter illam Aſpirationis notam* ⊢, *quæ ſi neceſſaria eſt contrariam ſibi poſcit* ⊣. Inſt. Orat. Lib. I. c. 4. I know too, that when accents came into uſe, the Greek ſcribes a thouſand years ago wrote theſe two marks for the *lene* and *aſpirate* ſpirits: but we meet with nothing of this diſtinction upon the older monuments of the Greeks, Coins and Marbles. We find that ⊢ ſtood for the aſpirate, as in ⊢ΕΛΕΝΙΤΩΝ. *Goltz.* ⊢ΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ. *Goth. Num.* or ϝΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ. as it is in *Beger. Theſaur. Brand.* 204: but ⊣ is never uſed for the *lene* mark. It is not ſo much my buſineſs to enquire, how the modern practice began, as to ſhew the impropriety of it. Yet I will give my opinion that it began with the aſpirate conſonants, and not with the vowels. When two of theſe conſonants, as γ̓γ, κ̓κ, λ̓λ, ῥ̓ῥ, met together in the middle of a word; (for they can neither begin, nor end one) it was neceſſary to place the Digamma between them, to ſhew that the Second muſt be aſpirated as beginning another ſyllable; but there was not the ſame reaſon for adding a note to the firſt, for that ended a ſyllable, and of courſe was not aſpirated. The oldeſt inſtance of βȣϛροφηδὸν writing now extant, is the Sigean inſcription: but this was wrote after the Digamma ceaſed, and was changed into H; for which reaſon it is not to be found there, either perfect, or mutilated. The Romans thought that H was formed from the two marks; *Nos his* (⊢ ⊣) *ſociatis, adſpirationis fecimus notam* H. Sergius in Donat. ap. Putſch.

the former; for a ſoft ſyllable required no ſuch note of diſtinction. Theſe two joined together at the middle point form the H, a letter that might be uſed both ways in writing; and therefore probably not of the primitive claſs, tho' a very ancient letter. And for this reaſon I am of opinion, that H was compounded of theſe two; rather than that thoſe were disjointed halves of the H. The H was certainly a Greek aſpirate, as appears by the oldeſt (1) inſcriptions; tho', as it was a later letter, perhaps its force was not ſo ſtrong and harſh as the Digamma. And it ſeems to me, that when they pronounced more gutturally, they uſed the F; when leſs, the ⊦ or ⊣, and in time both united as H.

The degradation of the Digamma.

To ſum up the hiſtory and fate of this antiquated letter. It ſeems at firſt to have been removed to make room for the vowel A; and ſcarce ever after gained any

Putſch. p. 1829; but they were miſtaken in thinking that the conjunction was owing to them: for the H was rather older than their language. The Roman inſcriptions are of more authority than all their Grammarians: in theſe we find the Two Marks uſed indifferently for the aſpirate; and the *Pſile*, or *lene* mark, as the Grammarians called it, perhaps oftner than the other: as in theſe that follow,

T. OCTAVIVS THALLVS E VIBIA RHODE
SAPPIENA LYCHNIS MATRIS
D. M. D. DIGITIO PHARNACE
DIS MANIB. SACR. IVNIA PANNYCHIS. *Fabretti Sylloge Inſcript. p.* 195.

Theſe inſcriptions indeed ſeem not quite ſo old as the time of Quintilian; but yet are much older than the Greek accents.

(1) It occurs no leſs than four times as ſuch in the Sigean Inſcription; and in the Parian Chronicle, among the Arundel Marbles, conſtantly ſtands for the number *One Hundred*, as being the firſt letter in the word Ἑκατὸν i. e. *Centum*. See likewiſe the Baudelotian marble, and the inſcriptions of Herodes Atticus. Montfauc. Palæog. p. 135.

fixt

fixt ſeat in the alphabet. For tho' the ancients found that they could not well do without its power; yet that was always made to give way to ſome more faſhionable letter. The firſt place that it occupied after its removal, ſeems to have been that of *Vau*, or *Whaw*, but here it loſt its ſound, when *Vau* began to be pronounced like F, or V conſonant. Its next place was that of (1) *Heth* or *Cheth*, by which means it became the H of the Ionic alphabet: tho' it was ſoon baniſhed from thence, to make room for the long E, or *Eta*. But with the Romans, who acknowledged no ſuch power as *Eta*, it ſtill kept its ground; and in the modern alphabets retains its place to this day. From *Cheth* it might deſcend to *Koph* or *Quof*; for ſome (2) authors are of opinion, that it formerly ſtood in the place of Q. The Greeks ſeem to have thought this a place of too much dignity for it; by diſcarding *Quof*, and placing the aſpirate lower in the ſeries, making it the double (3) letter X, or *Ch*. This ſeems to have been its laſt ſtage, as a letter, with the Greeks; it being now reduced to the mean condition of an accent, (ʽ).

The W the Digamma revived.

In the Runic alphabet alone the Digamma preſerved its ancient ſtation, and power, and for the moſt part its form, tho' a little diſtorted; but by degrees loſt its firſt ſound, being pronounced as F; the letter ✱, or H,

(1) Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Η στοιχείου τυπώσασθαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς τὴν Δασεῖαν. διόπερ καὶ Ρωμαῖοι πρὸ πάντων τῶν δασυνομένων ὀνομάτων τὸ Η προγράφουσι. Athen. Deipn. Lib. IX.

(2) Goropius Becanus. Hermathenæ. Lib. IX. p. 213.

(3) *Septuaginta Interpretes non valentes* Heth *literam, quæ* duplicem aſpirationem *ſonat, in Græcum ſermonem vertere,* Chi *Græcam literam addiderunt, ut nos docerent ejuſmodi vocabula aſpirari debere; unde & in præſenti loco* Cham *tranſtulerunt, pro eo quod eſt* Ham. S. Hieron. Hebr. Tradit.

ſupplying

ſupplying the place of the aſpirate. And yet the Northern nations ſeem to have thought * not aſpirate enough for their purpoſe; and therefore revived the old Digamma under the form of (1) double UU, ƿ or *Wen*, a letter unknown to the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, and Goths; I mean as to its form and place, for there can be no doubt that they had the ſound. Here we ſee it degraded almoſt to the loweſt extremity of the alphabet, but ſtill reſerving to itſelf a ſort of claim to the very firſt place, by the reſemblance it bears of the ancient form of *Alpha* Ⱥ.

When W *came into the Series.*

ƿ ſeems to have been an old letter of the Alphabet, when the ſcribes wrote in majuſcules, and might be uſed very early; tho', If I remember right, it does not appear in our Saxon manuſcripts till the ninth century, for before that time they uſed two ſeparate U U. The moſt that I am able to do, is to trace it by conjecture; and, I think, as high as the latter end of the Sixth century. For I take it to be one of thoſe *Four Letters*, which, as Gre-

(1) *In geminata* V *Gammæ duæ Græcæ literæ ponuntur.* Cledon. Conſtantinop. apud Putſchii Auctor. Ling. Lat. pag. 1882. This rule may only mean that one V ſerved for a Digamma, or V conſonant; as in the words *Vultus Uvidus*, and the like: unleſs we chooſe to illuſtrate it, by the reverſed Digamma Ⅎ, a letter introduced by the emperour Claudius Cæſar. *Nec inutiliter Claudius Æolicam illam ad hos uſus* F *literam adjecerat.* Quintil. Inſtit. Lib. I. cap. 7. It had the power of V conſonant, and is found upon ſome inſcriptions of that reign, but was ſoon aboliſhed. *Uſui imperitante eo* [Claudio] *poſtea obliterata.* Tacit. Ann. Lib. XI. I muſt here obſerve, that this Claudian Digamma is only the Samaritan Aleph inverted. ⅄. Vid. Toinard. Alphab. Samarit. apud Montfauc. Palæog. Græc. pag. 122. The Hebrew ו *Vau* or *Whaw* had likewiſe the power of W. The Ulphilo-Gothic letter ƿ ſerved to the ſame purpoſe. So did the Greek Digamma, or F, as in Fοῖνος, in Latin *Vinum*, in Engliſh *Wine.* When the Digamma was loſt, the later Greeks, as Dionyſius Halicarnaſſ. obſerves above, uſed the Diphthong ΟΥ, which was no more than a Digamma, or W.

gory

gory of Tours ſays, king Chilperic added to the Francic alphabet, (1) *Addidit autem* (Chilpericus) *& literas literis noſtris, id eſt* ω, *ſicut Græci habent*, æ, the, uui, *quarum characteres ſubſcripſimus. Hi ſunt* ω, ψ, Z, Δ, *Et miſit epiſtolas in univerſas civitates regni ſui, ut ſic pueri docerentur, ac libri antiquitus ſcripti planati pumice reſcriberentur.* This paſſage is certainly corrupt as to the forms of the characters. Z and Δ could ſcarce be wanting in any alphabet of that time. The Ω of the Greeks may be admitted, as being a letter well known; and ψ is only the Ulphilo-Gothic ψ *Theta*, or *Thorn*, which ſeems to be miſplaced in the order; for Z ſeems to repreſent the diphthong Æ. The greateſt (2) difficulty then remaining will be about the letter Δ. And yet Gregory himſelf ſeems to have ſolved this difficulty, by calling it UUI: for what can this mean, but W? Give me therefore leave to add one ſtroke to Δ, as thus ,Δ, and it will appear to be the very letter of which we have been ſpeaking. ꝼ ſeems to be formed from the Digamma F, by drawing the horizontal ſtrokes to a point: And this conſtitutes the form of the letter A in the Delian and Sigean inſcriptions. The mutilated Digamma ꟻ in the ſame manner, ſeems to make the Runic vowel ᛅ. But the later Runes to expreſs the power of W, added a point to

(1) Gregorius Turonenſis Hiſt. Franc. per Ruinartum. Lib.V. c.45.

(2) *Supereſt nonnihil difficultatis in litera* Δ, *quam his elementis* uui *Gregorii editio exprimit. Literam ſane quæ vim habeat hujus ſoni ſignificandi Argenteus Codex habet, quam in ſecundæ petitionis Orationis Dominicæ invenies; etſi eam per literam* Q *perperam, ni fallor, in lectione expreſſam video. At olim* Wimai *lectum fuiſſe videtur, craſſo quidem & adſpirato ſono, qui ſenſim in lingua Germanica in* Q, *vel* K, *immutatus ſit, & in lingua Gallica in literam* G, *ut nomen illud Wilhelmus oſtendit, quod Galli modo omnes Guilielmum pronunciant. Atqui cum ea litera* (ᗡ) *nonnihil ad* D *Latinum in illius ævi manuſcriptis accedat, facillime ab amanuenſi imperito in* Δ *Græcum mutari potuit.* La Croze Ep. ad Chamberlayne Orat. Domin. p. 140.

ꝼ,

ꝼ, and called it *Stungen Fie*, or the pricked F. All theſe ſeveral tranſmutations combine to ſhew the deſcent of W from Aleph, or the Digamma.

The uſe of the Digamma in Etymology.

Some readers, I know, will think that I have miſpent my time and pains upon an obſolete letter, that has been disfranchiſed between two and three thouſand years ago: but I expect more favour from thoſe, who think etymology worth their attention. Men of learning have not always an opportunity of converſing with foreign nations, which is the true way of coming at the origin of words in the European languages: that of ſeeing them written being very precarious. For tho' men commonly write as they pronounce, yet few nations agree in tranſlating the ſounds by the ſame letters. This is beſt illuſtrated by examples from a remote language, wherein no alphabet is uſed: for inſtance, Chineſe words as they are often written by Spaniards, Portugueſe, Germans, Hollanders, French and Engliſh, ſcarce ſeem to expreſs the ſame ſounds, or to mean the ſame things. Even in alphabetical writing, the vowels are commonly interchangeable, and conſonants of the ſame, or different, organs are frequently confounded together. This makes the caſe of bringing back languages to their primitive ſtate, almoſt deſperate: and yet the guttural aſpirate which is a ſure mark of the antiquity of a language, may be one help towards recovering them. By keeping the Digamma in view, by diſcerning where it has been formerly affixed to a vowel or conſonant, or omitted between two vowels; by noting its ſeveral gradations, and what letters came into the place of it; we may perhaps diſcover the gradual re-

finement of languages, and conſequently the cognation of dialects. That harmony of ſpeech, Ευφωνία, or Ευρυθμία, ſo cultivated by the Greeks, wrought numberleſs innovations in their tongue, till by degrees they had diveſted it of all its barbarity, or northerneſs: and as the Romans imitated the Greeks, their language became ſtill more heterogeneous. But if the Digamma, the radical conſonants, together with the idiom and genius of each language, were duly conſidered; I am perſwaded, that all the Scythian dialects of Europe, Celtic, Greek, Roman, Gothic, &c. would be found much nearer (1) akin to each other, than they appear to be in modern writing. The firſt intention likewiſe of hundreds of Greek and Roman words could not now be diſcovered, had they not been preſerved in dialects, that are called barbarous. And therefore the Greek and Roman grammarians, by ſeeking for the ſource of almoſt all their words in their own tongue, have only expoſed their weakneſs; and ſometimes made moſt ridiculous work with etymology.

(1) The reader will find this to be true in many inſtances, only by comparing words with others of the ſame ſignification, as they ſtand in the vocabularies of each language. In the mean time let him take theſe few as a ſpecimen.

CANIS	Ku & Kun *Celt.* Κὼν, χὼν, *vel* ὢν *Gr.* Hund *Goth.* Hound *Engl.*
CAPUT	Gaph *Hebr.* Κεφαλὴ *Gr.* Coppa *Celt.* Heofod *Sax.* Hofd *Runic.* Head *Engl.*
CANNABIS	Kanab *Celt.* Κανναβὶς *Gr.* Kennep *Dutch.* Hemp *Engl.*
CLAMO	Kol *i. e. Vox Hebr.* Galw *Celt.* Καλέω *Gr.* Call & Halloo *Engl.*
CORNU	Keren *Hebr.* Κέρας *Gr.* Korn *Celt.* Haurn *Goth.* Horn *Engl.*
CULMUS	Calav *Celt.* Κάλαμος *Gr.* Healm *Sax.* Halm *Engl.*
HORTUS	Gedher *Hebr.* Gardd *Celt.* Aurtigard, *unde* Orchard *Goth.* Garden *Engl.*
QUINQUE	Pump *Celt.* Πέντε *vel* Πέμπε *Gr.* Fimf *Goth.* Five *Engl.*
QUIS	Pui *Celt.* Τίς *Gr.* Quhas *Goth.* Who, Whoſe, *or* Which *Engl.*

From

The primitive Alphabet had no Vowels.

From the Hiſtory of the Greek alphabet of twenty four letters, we learn, that it was many centuries before it was compleated; the (1) Romans ſeem to acknowledge the ſame of theirs. Whence I think we may juſtly infer that all have been improved; and that the oldeſt now to be found was derived from ſome other, which I ſhall call the Primitive alphabet of Moſes. The order of the Greek letters, as well as their names, was plainly taken from the Phenician or Hebrew, as they now ſtand: but the Runic or Gothic ſeems to be of an original ſomewhat different. Tho' this alphabet conſiſts of only ſixteen letters, yet I am of opinion, that it has admitted ſeveral adſcititious ones into the original number. If there is any truth in what I have juſt now advanced, the vowel A could not be ſo ancient a letter as the Digamma. And therefore it may with ſome reaſon be queſtioned, whether in the firſt alphabet there were any vowels: for the firſt writing ſeems to have been carried on without them, their ſounds being included in the conſonants; and ſome (2) northern men have been of opinion, that they are not at all neceſſary to ſpeech. Even when it was thought exexpedient to give ſome written form to thoſe ſounds, it

(1) *Vetuſtiſſima tranſeo tempora, quibus & pauciores literæ, nec ſimiles his noſtris earum formæ fuerunt, & vis quoque diverſa.* Quintilian. Inſtit. Orat. c. 8. *Et forma Literis Latinis quæ veterrimis Græcorum. Sed nobis paucæ primum fuere: deinde additæ ſunt.* Tacit. An. Lib. XI. c. 14.

(2) *Polonorum lingua ferream propemodum habet duritiem, utpote in qua uni vocali ſeptem, vel octo ſæpe copulantur conſonantes. Pœne dixeris eos abſque vocalibus loqui. Memini certe vidiſſe me aliquem ex ea gente, qui palam jactaret, ad formandam vocem, & explicandos animi ſenſus, vel ſolas ſibi conſonantes ſufficere literas.* Voſſius de Viribus Rhythmi. pag. 58.

ſhould ſeem that there was no occaſion for ſo many as we have at preſent. The (1) alphabet of the Etruſcans wants the vowels O and U; that people could not be without thoſe two ſounds in ſpeech; but they had not found the way of diſtinguiſhing them by particular letters. The Runic alphabet wants the letter E, ſo that here are three vowels that may be ſpared from the primitive alphabet; and the A in Hebrew is no vowel, which will make a fourth. I imagine therefore that the primitive alphabet had no vowels, or at leaſt only one mark that anſwered for all the reſt. What that vowel was in the Runic we may gueſs, not only from its ſimple form, which is the ground and ſupport of all the other letters, being a ſingle perpendicular line, but from its place in the ſeries. For if the other vowels are removed, it will be found in the center of the alphabet, conſiſting then of only (2) thirteen letters, as if it was deſigned to give life and ſpirit to all the conſonants in this manner.

ᚠ.	ᚦ.	R.	ᚴ.	✱.	ᚾ.	I.	ᛋ.	ᛏ.	B.	ᛚ.	ᛘ.	ᛦ.
f.	d.	r.	k.	h.	n.	i.	s.	t.	b.	l.	m.	yr.

(1) Seignior Gori in his Muſeum Florent. Vol. I. Proleg. p. 49, reckons Sixteen letters in the Etruſcan alphabet, whereof V is one. But our learned friend Mr John Swinton, who ſeems to have entered further than any other before him, into that abſtruſe part of literature, admits of only thirteen, and excludes both O and V. See the alphabet itſelf in the Etruſcan Hiſtory compiled by him. Univerſal Hiſtory. Vol. 16. 8vo.

(2) Some of the ancients held that Thirteen was the original number of the letters, but what grounds they had for their opinion, or which were the letters meant, is uncertain. Ὁ ἀριθμὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ὅστις ἐστὶν οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν ἀκριβῶς· ἐπεὶ πολλὴν παρέσχε καὶ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀπορίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ᾠήθησαν εἶναι ΤΡΙΑΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ τὰ πάντα τῆς φωνῆς στοιχεῖα, κατασκευάσας δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκ τούτων. Οἱ δὲ, καὶ τῶν Εἰκοσιτεσσάρων, οἷς χρώμεθα νῦν, πλείω. Dionyſ. Halic. de Struct. Orat. c. 14.

I ſhall

The Vowels E *and* I *the ſame.*

I ſhall not attempt to find any ſecret meaning in the order and number of the letters, but leave that taſk to more curious enquirers. However I muſt do the letter E ſo much juſtice, as to think that it never was admitted into the old alphabet ſooner or later, not only becauſe it was near (1) akin to the letter I, but the very ſame with it. This ſeems probable from its place in the Samaritan alphabet, where it repreſents the letter 𐤉, or *Jod*; which yet in the Hebrew, as well as Runic, is the moſt ſimple of all the letters.

The letter Jod the general mark for the Vowel.

The learned have not been able to (2) divine, how one of the moſt complex figures of the alphabet came to be reduced to the moſt ſimple; and therefore it may be lawful to offer a conjecture in this caſe, tho' I ſhall lay no very great ſtreſs upon it. The *Jod*, or general mark for the Vowel, might at firſt be an auxiliary letter, like the Digamma; and both requiſite to diſtinguiſh the ſyllables. The one denoted the exploſion, the other the attraction of the breath. We ſee how near they approach to each other in their forms 𐤄 𐤉, the vowel mark having the advantage of one ſtroke extraordinary, perhaps becauſe it was neceſſary to all ſyllables; whereas the Digamma belonged only to the aſpirated ones. When

(1) *Extremam iſtius vocis ſyllabam tum per* E, *tum per* I, *ſcriptam legi. Nam ſane quam conſuetum iis veteribus fuerit, litteris his uti indifferenter.* Aul. Gellius. Lib. X. c. 24.

(2) I. *Quo caſu evenerit, ut hæc litera, quæ Phœnicium nomen apud Græcos retinet, tantum defecerit a priſca forma, ut nulli ex allatis ſuperius affinis ſit, incertum eſt.* Montfauc. Palæogr. p. 129.

harmony

harmony began to be ſtudied, and it was found that the vowel ſound might be varied into particular notes: then perhaps it was thought neceſſary that each ſhould be admitted to a place in the alphabet; and that it would be more proper to begin the ſeries with a vowel. The place of the aſpirate was accordingly appropriated to the ſound of A, and the vowel mark allotted to that of E; the *Jod* in the mean time ſtill preſerving its name and place, but reduced, like the Digamma, to a more diminutive form. Whether the vowels O and U came ſo early into the alphabet, as the two former, muſt be left to the diſquiſition of others.

The Britons, Scots, Iriſh and Saxons uſed the corrupted Roman letters.

It may be proper to conclude this eſſay with a word or two upon the oldeſt writings of our own country. If the Angloſaxons brought letters with them into Britain, I ſuppoſe, they were the old Gothic or Runic; the Ulphilo-Gothic perhaps never taking place in their country. That the Runic letters were not unknown in England, appears from a few inſcriptions on (1) coins, and (2) ſtones, and other monuments, and in ſome (3) Saxon books: but whether

(1) ᚦᚢᚱᚷᛟᛏ ᚴᚪᚾᛞᛁᛋ i. e. *Turgotus Londinenſis.* Nummus Thoresbeianus. Vid. D. Andr. Fountaine Præf. ad Num. Sax. OFFA. REX. ᛒᛟᛏᚱᛗᚦᚲ i. e. Botred *Monetarius.* Vid. Serenii Dict. Anglo-Suecico-Lat. Præf. Pag. 21.

(2) Vid. Hickes Theſ. Ling. Septentr. BAPTISTERIUM BRIDEKIRKENSE. Par. III. pag. 4. Tab. 2. SAXUM REVELLENSE *apud Scotos.* Ibid. Tab. 4. pag. 5. CRUX LAPIDEA *apud Beaucaſtle.* Wanley Catal. MSS. Anglo-Sax. pag. 248. ANNULUS AUREUS. Drake Hiſt. of York. Appen. p. 102. Tab. N. 26.

(3) Vid. Hickes Theſaur. Par. I. pag. 135, 136, 148. Par. III. Tab. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

they

they were brought in by the firſt Saxons, or rather by the Danes, is a queſtion: and it is certain that they never grew into common uſe. We have no remains of Saxon writing ſo old as the ſixth century, nor during that time do the Saxons ſeem to have had much leiſure to employ themſelves in that way. In the ſeventh century, after they became Chriſtians, it is clear that they applied themſelves to writing of books; though I think we have none remaining even of that century, excepting a few (1) Charters. Before the Saxons arrival, the corrupted Roman letters were in uſe with the natives, Britiſh, Scotch, and Iriſh: and theſe the Saxons were contented to make uſe of, in writing both Latin and Engliſh, inſtead of their own the Runic: The Runic characters were perhaps at that time accounted Pagan, and unhallowed; for they had an ill (2) name, as being uſed to bad purpoſes; at leaſt, being capital letters, they were not ſo commodious as the others. It is true that the Saxons added two letters to the Latin alphabet; for Ð ð, TH or *Thorn*, and Ƿ ƿ, W or *Wen*, are of Northern growth.

(1) Theſ. Ling. Sept. Par. I. pag. 169. Charta Odilredi ad Mon. Berking. v. Caſley Cat. MSS. Reg. Bibl. &c.

(2) *Hoſce autem characteres* RAMRVNER, *ſeu* Runas Amaras & Acerbas *vocarunt, eo quod moleſtias, dolores, morbos, aliaque pernicioſa hiſce infligere inimicis ſoliti ſunt Magi. —— Mihi judicium clariſſimi & in antiquitatibus noſtris verſatiſſimi viri D. Arngrimi Jonæ Iſlandi, de* RAMRVNIS *expetenti, tale obtigit reſponſum.* "*Exiſtimo veriſimile eſſe Magos illos literatura aliqua ſuos, & quidem vulgari, ma-*"*jori ex parte, ſed virgulis & punctis ſuo marte excogitatis corrupta: cui literatu-*"*ræ, ſic corruptæ, Sathanæ perſuaſu, vim & efficaciam maximam ineſſe credide-*"*rint, & ipſo agente, ac illudente, experti ſunt.*" Ol. Wormius Lit. Runica. c. 5. By this one might be induced to think, that ſome of thoſe deformed alphabets, given us by Dr Hickes, were of the RAMRVNER kind.

This

The Concluſion. This alphabet, whilſt the Saxon language flouriſhed in England, varied but little as to the forms of the letters; tho' it cannot be called entirely the ſame. In every age ſome ſcribes excelled others in writing, and all differed a little from thoſe who went before them; but ſtill the humour and duct of the letters was pretty well preſerved for about four hundred years; for I think that period will take in all the Saxon writing, that is now remaining. When the Normans enforced their language upon us, another ſort of character crept in with it by degrees; however the old Saxon books ſtill remained, and the letters in which they are written, have by courteſy been called Saxon to this day. As there are but few of them that differ from the common characters now in uſe; every Engliſh reader is, or ought to be, acquainted with them; and therefore it will be unneceſſary to dwell any longer upon them.

F. W. R. L.

Errata.

Pag. 87. *lin.* 10. *Dele* May.
Pag. 89. *lin.* 1. *Adde* ᚷᚱᛖᛁᛏᚪᚾ.
Pag. 138. *Not.* 2. *lin.* 3. In Secundæ *l.* Initio Secundæ.

THE HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE FABULOUS AGES CONSIDERED.

PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO THE TWO ANCIENT DEITIES BACCHUS AND HERCULES.

By a Member of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

Antiquam exquirite Matrem. Virg.
Nullius in verba. Hor.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE prevailing cuſtom of entertaining the publick with pieces of wit and humour under the form of Hiſtory, Lives, and Adventures, firſt moved the authour to review the fables of antiquity: for he ſees no reaſon why they ſhould be neglected; ſince, by our methods of education, they are in a manner the fountain of ſcience, the ſource of the firſt knowledge that we imbibe. This indeed may be the chief cauſe of their being neglected: as they were the diverſion of our childhood, we think fit to throw them aſide, like other toys, when we are grown to maturity. And yet it muſt be owned, that without a thorough knowledge and remembrance of them, we can hardly underſtand, at leaſt not read with pleaſure, thoſe uſeful, and invaluable, productions of the ancients. The fabulous heroes of antiquity afford us as much inſtruction as the modern; and

 have

have this further advantage, that after ſo many ages they are not yet grown old, or obſolete; but ſtill flouriſh in the records of fame; and are likely to live, when moſt of the heroes of modern fable ſhall be extinct, and forgot.

The ſtudy of Antiquities, ſo much of late decried by Engliſhmen, is, in other words, a more accurate reſearch into ancient hiſtory; which the learned of other countries think cannot be carried to too great an height, becauſe nothing in literature can be more uſeful. In travelling through the boundleſs region of ſcience, we can never expect to come to our journeys end: but the more, we know, the more, we ought to think, remains ſtill unknown to us. Whereas it is our misfortune, that too many among us only learn enough to make them conceited with what they know; and then, with an air of importance, to depreciate as uſeleſs, whatever they cannot reliſh, imitate, or even underſtand. This is always a ſure mark of a little mind, ſwelling itſelf in its own narrow ſphere, and is well deſcribed by the poet

That

That caſting weight pride adds to emptineſs.

Sir William Temple calls it Sufficiency, the worſt compoſition out of the pride and igrance of mankind. *If any good effect can flow from this evil, it muſt be that of putting an author upon his guard; that when he falls into the hands of theſe mercileſs enemies, they may have the leſs hold to pull him to pieces; and by this means learning may for ſome time ſtand its ground againſt ſuch ſuperficial antagoniſts. If the nation by a natural decay, is ſinking into a ſtate of ignorance, as ſome are apt to think; this may be one ſymptom of the diſtemper, but can never contribute to the cure of it: no more than every quack pretender to phyſick can reſtore a conſtitution broken with age and infirmities.*

We have had, for the beſt part of a century, periodical accounts of the State of Literature in our Iſland; and judgment has been paſſed on books and authors in Abſtracts, Compendiums, Abridgements, &c. wrote at firſt with decency, and good manners: ſetting forth the merits of each performance; and ſometimes perhaps with too much

candour. But this rule ſeems to be inverted at preſent: we dont ſtudy ſo much, to find out the beauties of an author, as to lay open his defects. Hired writers, ſupported by idle taſteleſs readers, now uſurp the office of Dictators in the commonwealth of Letters: and without fear, or ſhame, pronounce the fate of an author as magiſterially, as if they were entire maſters of his ſubject; which too often happens to lye quite out of their reach. And the more ſharp, and ſevere, their cenſure is, they commonly receive the greater proportion of applauſe. I wiſh the ſucceſs they have met with, may not have induced others, of ſuperiour endowments, and more liberal education, to enter into the ſame ungenerous, and ſupercilious, way of condemning in groſs, without proof, or aſſigning the leaſt reaſon for their ſentence.

There is ſcarce a fragment of the ancients, that has not, upon occaſion, proved of ſervice to the learned: and their Mythology is a mine, that will yield a treaſure to thoſe, who are at the pains of working it. The wiſeſt maxims of their ſages; ſublime leſſons of morality; a deep inſight into nature; all more or leſs intermixt with fable,

lye

lye near the very ſurface of it. But if in ſearching further into this mine, ſome gleams of hiſtorical light break in upon us; how great is the ſurprize, how agreeable the diſcovery! This alone ought to be an encouragement to a philoſophical mind, a mind intent upon the ſearch after truth.

Truth is ſaid to lye deep in the earth, and the way to find it muſt be to dig deep for it: to trace things back to their firſt beginnings: to ſtudy the origin of nations, languages, cuſtoms, arts, and ſciences. Thoſe, who only buſy themſelves on the ſurface of fable, may think that the perſons of the gods were ideal only, and their actions the reſult of fancy; and that no ſort of truth can be expected from thence. The author has taken ſome pains to ſhew the falſity of ſuch notions: he has endeavoured to ſet the heathen mythological hiſtory in a proper light, and to fix the time, when it really commenced. He has attempted to prove, that the Gods came from a quarter of the world, not hitherto ſuſpected: and though this may ſeem a novel opinion, yet that it was known to the ancient Greeks, before they were overrun with the ſuperſtitions of Egypt.

His

His former Eſſay was deſigned to ſhew, that the firſt gods of the Grecians, Uranus and Saturn, were not natives of their country, as was afterwards pretended, but came from the North. He now preſents the publick with two more, of as great fame as the others; who, as he imagines, came from the ſame country, but diſtinguiſhed themſelves at firſt in India; and long before their names were known to Greece or Egypt.

The author has always paid great regard to the judgment of the learned, and will ever abide by their deciſion. Ancient prejudices, he is ſenſible, are not eaſily eradicated; and therefore did not expect a general, or immediate, aſſent to his opinion. But owns that he expected ſomething more than general objections, and thoſe too uttered in whiſper, and in the dark. Till the objectors ſhall vouchſafe to appear a little more open, and explicit; he humbly hopes, in his turn, to be indulged in the common prejudice of an author, in behalf of his own performance. That if it ſhall have the fortune to be ſtill condemned, the fault may not be imputed ſo much to the work itſelf

ſelf, as to the malignity, or incompetency, of the judges.

The following eſſay conſiſts, for the moſt part, of hints that aroſe from thoſe Enquiries into the Primitive State of Europe; and if they now and then differ from them, muſt be conſidered as Second Thoughts. The author had no intention of committing it to the preſs; having ſuffered too much already on that account. But drew it up ſome years ago, in the preſent form, for his own amuſement, and the entertainment of a few friends; who were pleaſed to think the former piece defective, without this neceſſary ſupplement. If therefore the reader ſhall reap any benefit from the peruſal, his thanks are due to the kind compulſion, and generous contributions of thoſe friends; for it had never ſeen the light, but through their mediation. It was rejected by the bookſeller; was below the patronage of the great; and above an eleemoſynary ſubſcription. In ſuch a caſe, to leave a poſthumous treatiſe to ſhift for itſelf, would have been little better than folly: conſidering how the taſte of the age is daily loſing its reliſh for antiquity. An inauſpicious omen to

works

works of this kind! that muſt now be ſtifled in their birth; or ſtarved upon their going out into the world.

ERRATA.

Pag. 94. *l.* 25. *For* Gods *read* God.
Pag. 108. *l.* 11. *For* And *read* But.

THE HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE FABULOUS AGES.

IT is an obſervation of (1) Plutarch's, that to render Mythology uſeful, *We muſt cleanſe it from it's droſs, and bring it to ſenſe and reaſon, before it can bear the appearance of hiſtory.* The fabulous age is of ſo great extent, that we ſcarce know where it begins, or where it ends: and no general rule can be laid down, that ſhall ſerve to illuſtrate every part, and purpoſe, of it. When once the humour of romancing prevailed, no bounds could be ſet to it; and in time the credulity of nations, became ſo univerſal, that people

(1) Εἰη μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἐκκαθαιρόμενον λόγῳ τὸ Μυθῶδες ὑπακοῦσαι, καὶ λαβεῖν ἱστορίας ὄψιν. Plutarch. in Theſeo.

were every where prepared to believe the groſſeſt abſurdities in religion: and every attempt to open their eyes was branded with the odious name of Atheiſm. There was certainly a time when the heathen gods firſt began to be worſhiped; but this time has never yet been clearly ſtated: however to enter upon the ſubject regularly, we ought to enquire who were the firſt gods, and for what reaſons they were worſhiped. And tho' we may ſucceed in this enquiry, yet we ſhall find their actions ſo intermixt with others, who came after them, and went by the ſame names; that it may ſeem a task, little inferiour to the labours of an heroe, to extract their true hiſtory out of ſuch an abyſs of fables.

The progreſs of Fable.

Fable may be called a picture of truth, drawn with a view to raiſe our attention, and admiration, in a form ſomething more than human, with a mein approaching to divinity, and in a dreſs as ſplendid, as can be framed by imagination. But if it can be ſtript of theſe ornaments, the truth itſelf would appear naked, and undiſguiſed. The firſt ſort of fables, parables, or apologues, wherein birds, beaſts, or trees, were introduced as ſpeakers and actors, conveyed moral inſtructions for the conduct of human life; and here it was eaſy to perceive, that the perſonages brought into the ſcene were imaginary; the ſolution therefore was obvious, and the true deſign quickly ſeen through the fiction. Thus far fable was both lawful, and uſeful; but when it grew ſo luxuriant, as to interfere with paſt times, and tranſactions, it became very pernicious to hiſtory; and threw almoſt as great a darkneſs over it, as time itſelf could have done. The truth ſunk deeper

deeper into the fable, and could not be brought to light, without much greater difficulty and penetration. Real facts, times, and perſons, lay all together blended in one heterogeneous maſs; and required almoſt a divine power to reduce them to any tolerable order.

Fables explained by allegory.

This put the lovers of truth upon different methods of enquiry. Some of the (1) ancients took the ſhorter way, of cutting the whole knot, inſtead of untying it, by reſolving all into fiction. They held that things were not to be underſtood in the literal acceptation of the words; but boldly diving into the breaſts of the old poets, found an occult meaning in almoſt every thing they delivered. They reduced gods and heroes to the active, and paſſive, qualities of the mind: or to mere phyſical elements, earth, air, water, fire; and the wars of the gods, to the jarring of theſe elements. Thus they formed out of this maſs a beautiful landſcape, according to their own fancies; but at the ſame time only built fables upon fables, without ever ſearching for the hiſtorical truth, that lay hid at the bottom.

(1) Amongſt theſe was Metrodorus of Lampſacus, who, in his treatiſe upon Homer, made not only the gods, and goddeſſes, but the Heroes of the poem, allegorical perſons. Καὶ Μητρόδωρος δὲ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς, ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ομήρου λίαν σφόδρα διείληπται, πάντα εἰς ἀλληγορίαν μετάγων. ὅτε γὰρ Ἥραν, ὅτε Ἀθηνᾶν, ὅτε Δία τοῦτ' εἶναι φησὶν, ὅπερ οἱ τὰς περιβόλους αὐτοῖς καὶ τειχὴ καθιδρύσαντες νομίζουσι· φυσέως δὲ ὑποστάσεις, καὶ στοιχείων διακοσμήσεις. Καὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα δὲ, καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα δηλαδὴ, καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, καὶ πάντας ἁπλῶς Ἕλληνάς τε καὶ Βαρβάρους, σωὶ τῇ Ἑλένῃ, καὶ τῷ Πάριδι τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ὑπάρχοντας, χάειν οἰκονομίας ἕρεῖ τε παρεισπῆχθαι, ἀδείνὸς ὄντος περιεργμένων ἀνθρώπων. Tatian Orat. ad Græcos §. 37.

By facts in ſcripture. The moderns have taken what ſeems a more rational method; by admitting the foundation to be true hiſtory, but rejecting the fabulous ſuperſtructure. Theſe make the ſacred writings the groundwork of the Grecian mythology; and endeavour to explain the fables by parallel ſtories from the Bible. It cannot be denied, that there is a very ſtriking reſemblance between many fables of the Greeks, and events recorded in ſcripture: but we are not to imagine that the perſons mentioned in the fables, are the ſame individuals with thoſe in the ſacred books; becauſe this would be confounding all hiſtory, geography, and chronology. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that in the firſt unſettled ages of the world, the memory of remarkable facts was conveyed by colonies to many remote countries: which facts their poſterity afterwards adopted for their own: and we are to judge, from what remains of true hiſtory, how near the likeneſs between the copy and original has been preſerved. I can readily allow, that the Deluges of Ogyges, and Deucalion, in Greece, which I look upon as fables, owed their riſe to the ancient tradition of the univerſal deluge; and the (1) Giants attempt to ſcale heaven, to the preſumptuous enterpriſe at Babel. But cannot ſo eaſily deduce the Titan war from the rebellion in heaven, and the fallen angels, as (2 ſome

(1) Ὄσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἵν' Οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη. Odyſſ. λ. v. 314.
Vid. Stillingfleet Origines Sacr. Lib. I. c. 5.

(2) *Titanas autem, ſicut alii, de Dæmonibus exponam*, quos Deus ἐταρτάρωσε. 2 *Pet.* 2. 4. Zach. Bogan Ep. Præf. ad Dickenſon Delph. Phœnic. Oxon. 1655.

have

have done; becauſe I take it to be real matter of true hiſtory.

The firſt Hiſtory of the Greeks not fabulous.

A man may believe, without being thought too credulous, that the Greeks had preſerved in this manner very old memoirs, tho' perhaps no regular hiſtory, as high as their gods, who were their firſt kings. Theſe memoirs have been enlarged, and groſsly corrupted, both with reſpect to times, perſons, and events; but ſtill this does not deſtroy the root of the hiſtory. It was an ancient tradition with them, that Uranus, or Cœlus, was ſovereign of Greece, and other countries; that he had ſons called Titans; that Saturn was one of theſe, and ſucceeded his father Uranus; that Jupiter was ſon of Saturn; that he had wars with his uncles the Titans, and overcame them, &c. This is the beginning of their hiſtory, nor is there any thing abſurd, inconſiſtent, or incredible, in it: and therefore, I think, nothing can be ſeriouſly objected to the truth of it. But the marvelous incidents, and embelliſhments, of the ſtory, were the work of later ages, the machinery of poets, who, with a licenſe peculiar to themſelves, broke thro' all the (1) laws of hiſtory and chronology.

Chronology eſſential to Hiſtory.

Chronology is of the very eſſence of (2) true hiſtory, which without it would appear to be no better than fable, or a picture of truth. Where this guide can be had, we find the benefit of it even in fabulous hiſtory:

(1) *Ne quid falſi dicere audeat.* Tacit.

(2) Παρ οἷς γὰρ ἀσυνάρτητός ἐστιν ἡ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὴν, παρὰ τούτοις οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθεύειν δυνατόν. Tatian. Or. ad Græc. §. 50.

for

for by this we are enabled to diſtinguiſh the fables, to ſeparate the ancient from the more modern, and to adjudge facts to the proper perſons to whom they belong. Diodorus began his Univerſal Hiſtory with ſix books of Mythology of the Greeks and Barbarians, which he (1) collected from their hiſtories according to antient times, as far as he was able. Others, he ſays, (2) paſſed over the Mythology, upon account of the difficulty of the work. (3) "Of this number were Ephorus, Calliſ-"thenes, and Theopompus, who declined meddling with "the ancient fables for the ſame reaſon. But that he "himſelf was of a contrary opinion, and purſuant to his "deſign, had ſearched into theſe antiquities with the ut-"moſt diligence. Becauſe many and great actions were "performed by thoſe Heroes, Demigods, and many other "excellent men; whoſe memory poſterity has honoured "with ſacrifices due to gods and heroes, by reaſon of the "common benefits which mankind received from them; "and hiſtory has very properly perpetuated their fame to "all eternity." The ſentiments of ſo judicious an hiſtorian I have purpoſely quoted, to ſhew what the ancients

(1) Πεποιήμεθα δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῶν μυθολογουμένων παρ' Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις, ἐξετάσαντες τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἱστορούμενα κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡμῖν ἡ δυνάμις. Diodorus Præf. ad Lib. I.

(2) Επ δ' οἱ μὲν τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν τῆς πραγματείας ἀπεδοκίμασαν. Idem Ibid.

(3) Ομοίως δὲ τούτῳ [Ephoro] Καλλισθένης καὶ Θεόπομπος, κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότες, ἀπέσχοντο τῶν παλαιῶν μύθων· Ημεῖς δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν τάξιν κείσην ἔχοντες, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς πόνον ὑποστάντες τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιησάμεθα τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας. Μέγιστα γὰρ καὶ πλεῖστα συνετελέσθησαν πράξεις ὑπὸ τῶν Ηρώων τε καὶ Ημιθέων, καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν. ὧν διὰ τὰς κοινὰς εὐεργεσίας οἱ μεταγενέστεροι τοὺς μὲν ἰσοθέοις, τοὺς δὲ ἡρωϊκαῖς θυσίαις ἐτίμησαν· πάντας δ' ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος τοῖς καθήκουσιν ἐπαίνοις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καθύμνησεν. Diodor. Præf. ad Lib. IV.

thought

thought of the mythologic hiſtory; that we may not be deceived into an opinion, that it conſiſts of mere reveries of imagination; an amuſement for children only.

Varro's diviſion of time, with Cenſorinus's Comment.

Of all the Roman authors Varro was the moſt learned, and moſt curious enquirer into antiquity; and he divided time into the *Unknown*, *Fabulous*, and *Hiſtorical*. Cenſorinus commenting upon this diviſion of Varro's, ſays, (1) "We can have no comprehenſion of this firſt, or unknown, period of time; whether it had a beginning, or exiſted from eternity; certainly no judgment can be formed, of what number of years it conſiſted." This is excuſable in an heathen author, who had no better guides to direct him: but the annals of China, which have been diſcovered of late years, go a good way back into this unknown period; and the ſacred writings, ſo providentially, and miraculouſly, preſerved, afford us much clearer light into it; by a great number of facts and events; together with a regular ſeries of times from the very beginning. The ſame author goes on, (2) "The ſecond, or

(1) *Primum tempus, ſive habuit initium, ſive ſemper fuit, certe quot annorum ſit, non poteſt comprehendi.* Cenſorinus de Die Natali. Cap. 21.

(2) *Secundum non plane quidem ſcitur, ſed tamen ad Mille circiter & DC annos eſſe creditur. A priore ſcilicet cataclyſmo, quem Ogygium dicunt, ad Inachi regnum anni circiter* CCCC. *hinc ad Olympiadem primam, paulo plus* CCCC. Cenſorin. c. 21. That learned chronologer Lydiat altered the reading, by leaving out ſome words, and adding others; making the groſs ſum 1400, agreeably, as he ſays, to the opinion of Varro. *Secundum non plane quidem ſcitur, ſed tamen ad Mille circiter & CD annos eſſe creditur: a priore ſcilicet cataclyſmo, quem Ogygium dicunt,* [ad poſteriorem dictum Deucalioneum anni DC, inde ad Ilii excidium CCCC.] *hinc ad Olympiadem primam paulo plus* CCCC. Not. ad Chron. Marm. Oxon. 1676. p. 35. Mr. Jackſon ſeems to agree in part with Lydiat, in making *Inachi regnum* a falſe reading for *Ilii*

" Fabulous period, is not certainly known, but is thought " to contain about ſixteen Hundred years; that is, from " the firſt deluge, which they call the Ogygian, to the " reign of Inachus, about 400; and from hence to the " firſt Olympiad a little more than 400." In this paſſage, it is evident that ſomething muſt be wanting, to compleat the ſenſe: becauſe theſe two ſums make but one half of ſixteen Hundred. Here then is both room, and a neceſſity, for conjecture; and chronologers have endeavoured to clear the point ſeveral ways. (1) I take the number 1600 in groſs, whether true or falſe, to be the right reading of Cenſorinus; and that he divided the whole into four periods of 400 years each; two of which are omitted by the careleſneſs of tranſcribers.

Ilii excidium; but refers the odd 600 years in the groſs ſum, to the interval between Ogyges and Troy; to make it ſuit with his hypotheſis, of 1000 years before the Olympiads. *Secundum non plane quidem ſcitur, ſed tamen ad Mille circiter annos eſſe creditur; a priore ſcilicet cataclyſmo, quem Ogygium dicunt*, [ad Ilii excidium anni circiter DC.] *hinc ad Olympiadem primam paulo plus* CCCC. Chronol. Antiquities. Vol. 3. p. 331, 332.

(1) With all due deference to thoſe learned men, who have endeavoured to reſtore the ſenſe of this paſſage, I would retain both the old reading, and the groſs ſum entire; only filling up what I conceive to be a chaſm, occaſioned by the hurry and overſight of the tranſcriber.

> *Secundum non plane quidem ſcitur, ſed tamen ad*
> M. *circiter &* DC *annos eſſe creditur, a priore ſcilicet*
> *cataclyſmo, quem Ogygium dicunt ad Inachi regnum*
> CCCC. [hinc ad Deucalionem CCCC. hinc ad Trojam,
> CCCC.] *hinc ad Olympiadem primam paulo plus*
> CCCC. *Quos ſolos, quamvis mythici temporis poſtremos,*
> *tamen quia a memoria ſcriptorum proximos, quidam*
> *certius definire voluerunt.*

By this form of the quotation, the reader will ſee how eaſy it was for the tranſcriber to fall into the miſtake.

Cenſo-

Cenſorinus adds, (1) "That ſome authors undertook to "define with exactneſs the laſt period, or 400 years, of "the mythic age, [By which he muſt mean from Troy "to the Olympiads] and thoſe only; becauſe they ap- "proached neareſt to their written memoirs: — but that "the diſagreement among themſelves ſhews, that even "that period muſt remain uncertain." Conſequently the foregoing Twelve Hundred years could not but be much more doubtful and uncertain.

The Æra of Idolatry in Greece.

I am too diffident of my own abilities, to think them ſufficient for ſuch enquiries; but if I can point out the way, and ſet more able heads at work, ſhall not deſpair of ſeeing the moſt ancient Greek hiſtory reduced to better order, and the Mythic Age, in ſome degree, reconciled to the chronology of ſcripture. I have already (2) hinted my opinion, that the Titan age commenced about 1500 years, or more, before the Olympiads; and that ſoon after began Idolatry, or Hero worſhip, in Greece. To be told that the Grecian heathen gods lived ſix, or ſeven, hundred years before Moſes, may poſſibly alarm ſome well meaning readers, whom I ſhould be ſorry to offend. But whether there is any foundation for my hypotheſis; the learned, and the learned only, can judge, by a chain of reaſoning drawn from facts and circumſtances. I have freely ſubmitted it to their diſquiſition; nor has any one hitherto brought it to

(1) *Quos ſolos, quamvis mythici temporis poſtremos, tamen quia a memoria ſcriptorum proximos, quidam certius definire voluerunt. —— quorum etiam ipſa diſſenſio incertum eſſe declarat.* Cenſorin. ibid.

(2) See *Enquiries concerning the Firſt Inhabitants &c. of Europe.* p.55,68.

a tryal before the publick, or put me to the trouble of defending it.

The duration of the Titan Empire.

That I may be more thoroughly underſtood; I further declare my opinion, That the Titan empire, from whence the Greek mythology commenced, was but of a ſhort duration, laſting only three ſucceſſive generations of princes. It began with Uranus, was ſorely ſhaken under Saturn, and reſtored to it's utmoſt vigour by Jupiter: and there I think the lineal ſucceſſion ended. For after him we hear of no univerſal ſovereign deity; unleſs (1) Mercury may be thought for a while to have exerciſed that authority: for we find ſeveral tokens of his adminiſtration after Jupiter's deceaſe. Uranus the founder of the empire, was dethroned by his ſons, a fact in itſelf not improbable; the manner of his death has been univerſally believed through all ages; and what makes it more probable, all the (2) mythologiſts agree, that the Titans were inſtigated by their mother Titæa to commit this inhuman action. But notwithſtanding his untimely end, Uranus muſt have reigned many years, leaving ſuch a numerous (3) iſſue behind him; twenty ſeven children by other women, and eighteen by his wife Titæa; the youngeſt of which was able to take the reins of government into his hands. Some poets feigned that Saturn ſuffered the ſame fate, as his father; but it is

(1) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν τελευτῆσαν τὸν αὐτὸν Πάνα, τὸν καὶ Δία, ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτὸν Φαυνος, ὁ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα πέντε. Jo. Malalæ Hiſt. Chron. Oxon. Lib. 2. p. 22.

(2) Heſiod, Sanchoniathon, Apollodorus. &c.

(3) See Enquiries into Europe &c. P. 21.

eaſy

eaſy to ſee, that this was only a fiction founded upon the former ſtory. Diodorus ſays, (1) Jupiter obtained the empire lawfully, without violence. (2) Lucian ſays, that Saturn reſigned the government to his ſon, upon the account of old age, and infirmities: nor is hiſtory wanting to confirm his aſſertion. (3) "Saturn's ſon Jupiter was "called Picus, and governed the eaſt; and coming to "his father, who reigned at the ſame time in the weſt, "Saturn delivered up to him the empire of the weſt al- "ſo, being then grown old, and weary of life: and Ju- "piter, or Picus, reigned over the weſt together with "Italy, full ſixty two years." (4) Jupiter died and gave the weſtern empire to his ſon Mercury: and lived in all One hundred and twenty years: ſo that he was fifty eight years old, before he enjoyed the whole empire. If Saturn was grown old when Jupiter was fifty eight, he probably reigned as long as his ſon: and if Uranus reigned only thirty years, this will give at leaſt one hundred and fifty years to the Titan empire; which yet I call a ſhort duration, conſidering the long lives of men in thoſe

(1) Περὶ δὲ τῆς τῦ Διὸς γενέσεώς τε καὶ βασιλείας διαφωνεῖται· καὶ πνὲς μὲν φασὶν αὐτὸν, μὴ τὼ ἐξ ἀνδρώτων τῦ Κρόνου μετάσασιν εἰς θεὸς, διαδέξαδαι τὼ βασιλείαν, οὐ βίᾳ καπχύσαντα τ πατέρα, νομίμως ϑ καὶ δικαίως ἀξιοδέντα ταύτης τῆς πμῆς. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 233.

(2) Αλλ' ὅτε ἐπολεμήσαμεν, ὅτε ὁ Ζεὺς βίᾳ τὼ ἀρχὼ ἀφείλετο, ἑκόντ ϑ δὲ μου φθαδόντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ὑπεκσάντ ϑ ἄρχειν· — Γέρων ἤδη κ) ποδαχὸς ὑπὸ τῦ χρόνυ ὤν. Lucian. Saturnal. pag. 1022. Ed. Bourdelot.

(3) Ο δὲ Κρόνος ἐωρακὼς τὸν ἑαυτῦ υἱὸν Πῖκον, τὸν καὶ Δία, ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ δύσει, παρεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τὼ βασιλείαν τῆς δύσεως, ἤν γὰρ γεγηρακὼς, καὶ ταλαιπωρήσας, ὁ αὐτὸς Κρόν ϑ. καὶ ἐβασίλδυσεν τῆς δύσεως, ἦγεν τῆς Ιταλίας, Πῖκος, ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς ὅλα ἔτη ξβ. Chron. Paſchal. per Du Freſne. pag. 37.

(4) Πῖκος ὁ κ) Ζεὺς, φθαδὲς τὼ τῆς δύσεως ἀρχὼ τῷ ἰδίῳ υἱεῖ Ερμῆ τελδντᾶ, ζήσας Κ κ) Εκατὸν ἔτη. Suidas in Πῖκος.

early times; and if compared with other empires. If then we can find any probable reaſons for fixing the time of Jupiter's deceaſe, we may nearly calculate THE ÆRA OF GRECIAN HISTORY.

Jupiter the Babylonian Belus.

In order to this, it will be neceſſary to enquire into the real perſon of this god, who makes ſo great a figure in the fabulous hiſtory. It is agreed on all hands, that he was the ſon, and ſucceſſor, of Saturn: and the hiſtorians, following the poets, give him a wide dominion over many, and very diſtant countries. All this may be believed without much difficulty: but that he appeared in ſeveral very different ages of the world, which they likewiſe inſinuate, can never be agreeable to truth. Authors ſeem to have been deterred from proſecuting his true hiſtory, by the glaring abſurdities contained in the fabulous one: and, I may add, they looked no further for him, than in Greece or Egypt. But we learn from the Paſchal Chronicle, that the Greeks had a tradition that he governed the eaſt under the name of Picus, and during the lifetime of his father Saturn. The Latines had alſo a Picus, who reigned over their country, and was reputed the (1) ſon of Saturn. To trace this matter to it's ſource, we muſt conſult the eaſtern hiſtory; which, though reckoned the more ancient, yet carries us no higher than the Greek: for it begins with the Titans and Giants, the building of Babylon,

(1) *Picus in Auſoniis, proles Saturnia, terris Rex fuit.* Ovid. Metam. Lib. 14. v. 220.

or

or what (1) S. Epiphanius called the SCYTHIAN AGE. "(2) Eupolemus ſpeaking of the Jews in Aſſyria, ſays "the city of Babylon, was built by thoſe people who "were ſaved from the deluge; theſe were the Giants, "who built the famous Tower; but this being deſtroyed "by the power of the God, the Giants were diſperſed "over the whole earth." Artapanus (3) ſays "We find "in ſome uncertain authorities, that Abraham ſojourned "with the Giants who lived in Babylonia, and were de-"ſtroyed by the gods for their impiety; one of whom, "named Belus, eſcaping with life, dwelt in Babylon, and "there built him a Tower in which he lived, which "Tower from the builder was called Bel [or Babel.] "Megaſthenes (4) ſays, Belus drained off the water, re-"covered the land about Babylon, and incloſed it with

(1) Απὸ δὲ τοῦ κλίματος τοῦ πρὸς Εὐρώπην εἰς Ασίαν κεκλικότες, ἐπονωμάσθησαν πάντες κατὰ τὴν χρόνου ἐπίκλησιν ΣΚΥΘΑΙ, κτίζουσι δὲ τὴν ΠΥΡΓΟΠΟΙΙΑΝ, καὶ οἰκοδομοῦσι τὴν ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΑ. S. Epiphan. Adv. Hæreſ. Lib. 1. pag. 6. Tho' S. Epiphanius quotes no authority for the Scythians being the builders of Babel; yet thus much is clear, That it was a known opinion in his time, and that he believed it.

(2) Ευπόλεμος δὲ τῷ περὶ Ιουδαίων τῆς Ασσυρίας φησὶ, πόλιν Βαβυλῶνα πρῶτον μὲν κτισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διασωθέντων ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς Γίγαντας, οἰκοδομεῖν δὲ τὸν ἱστορούμενον Πύργον· πεπόντος δὲ τούτου ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, τοὺς Γίγαντας διασπαρῆναι καθ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν. Euſebius ex Alexand. Polyhiſt. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. p. 245. Ed. Steph.

(3) Αρτάπανος δέ φησι ἐν τοῖς Ιουδαϊκοῖς —— ἐν δὲ ἀδεσπότοις εὕρομεν τὸν Αβραὰμ ἀναφέροντα εἰς τοὺς Γίγαντας· τούτους δὲ οἰκοῦντας ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ, διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ὑπὸ τῶν Θεῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι· ὧν ἕνα Βῆλον, ἐκφύγοντα θάνατον, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κατοικῆσαι, Πύργον τε κατασκευάσαντα ἐν αὐτῷ διαιτᾶσθαι, ὃν δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Βήλου, Βῆλον ὀνομασθῆναι. Euſeb. ibid. p. 246.

(4) Μεγασθένης δέ φησι — λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι, θάλασσαν καλεομένην· Βῆλον δὲ σφέα . . . . παῦσαι, χώρην ἑκάστῳ ἀπονείμοντα, καὶ Βαβυλῶνα τείχει περιλαβεῖν. Ibid. Pag. 268.

"a wall."

"a wall." (1) Eupolemus, "The Babylonians ſaid, the "firſt Belus was the ſame with Chronus, or Saturn; of "whom was born another Belus." Beroſus, (2) "That "Belus by the Babylonians is interpreted Jupiter." (3) Diodorus agrees with Beroſus. (4) Sanchoniathon reckons Jupiter Belus among the ſons of Saturn; (5) Herodotus deſcribes the temple of Jupiter Belus at Babylon, as remaining in his time. The old (6) Latin Chronicle, publiſhed by Scaliger, ſays, "They write that "Bilus was the firſt king of Aſſyria. From the Aſſy-"rians, the Phenicians, and Perſians called him GOD "[or Bel.] They tranſlated this name by a Greek word "DIUS [or Jupiter.] This Bilus firſt reigned over the "Aſſyrians Sixty Two years. After this reigned Ninus "Fifty Two years. He built Nineve, a city of the Aſ-"ſyrians; and coming into Aſia, was called Picus."

(1) Βαβυλωνίοις γὰρ λέγειν πρῶτον γενέσθαι Βῆλον, ὃν εἶναι Κρόνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Βῆλον. Euſeb. ibid. p. 244.

(2) Τὸν δὲ Βῆλον, ὃν καὶ Δία μεθερμηνεύεσθαι. Beroſus apud Scalig. Græc. Euſeb. p. 6.

(3) Επὶ δὲ Διὸς, ὃν καλέσαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι Βῆλον. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 69.

(4) Τρεῖς παῖδες, Κρόνος ὁμώνυμος τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ΖΕΥΣ ΒΗΛΟΣ, καὶ Απόλλων. Sanchon. ap. Euſeb. Præp. Lib. 1. p. 24.

(5) Εν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ, Διὸς Βήλου ἱερὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἐόν. Herodot. Lib. 1. c. 181.

(6) *Aſſyriorum primum regem ſcribunt Bilum, quem & ab Aſſyriis, Phœnices & Perſæ,* DEUM *vocaverunt. Hunc* DIUM *Græco nomine interpretaverunt. Bilus vero primus in Aſſyrios regnavit annos* 62 *& partem Aſiæ. Poſt hæc regnavit Ninus annos* 52. *Hic condidit Niniven civitatem Aſſyriorum, & veniens in Aſia vocatus eſt Picus.* Scaliger. Addit. Latin. ad Euſeb. Chron. p. 74. This Chronicle is extracted from Greek authors, and Scaliger allows it's merit; tho' he expreſſes a contemptible opinion of the compiler. *Excerpta utiliſſima, ex priore libro chronologico Euſebii, & Africano, & aliis, Latine converſa ab homine barbaro, inepto, Helleniſmi & Latinitatis imperitiſſimo.* Pag. 58.

Excuſing

Excuſing this author's inaccuracies, it is plain, that his Bilus is the ſame with Picus, who reigned Sixty Two years. From all theſe accounts, I think, we may gather, that Jupiter, Belus, and Picus, were one and the ſame perſon: that he was ſon of Saturn: that he fortified Babylon: and that he governed the eaſt as viceroy under his father; which perhaps is intimated by his Latin name, *Jupiter*, or *Young Father*. That the heathen could not ſee this, was owing to the blindneſs of their religion. I now leave others to determine the age of Belus; and when that is done, I believe, we ſhall not diſagree much about the time of Jupiter's death.

Only one Belus

We ſee by the paſſages above quoted, how dark and intricate the beginning of the Pagan Hiſtory is: and a late learned (1) author inſtead of clearing it up, has, I think, perplexed it ſtill more, by making two Beluſes; the firſt a Babylonian, the latter an Aſſyrian. *The Babylonian*, he ſays, *was oppoſed by Haic, the giant king of Armenia, and after a bloudy engagement, was ſlain with moſt of his Titans, as Moſes Chorenenſis relates, from Maribas of Catina.* But theſe are authorities, that I can by no means pin my belief upon: the ſtory having too much the air of romance. And therefore, to bring things to a nearer agreement in time, I acknowledge only one Belus, and ſuppoſe him to be Jupiter.

(1) Mr. Jackſon's Chronol. Antiq. Vol. 1. p. 240. & 262, 263.

The

Nimrod the Babylonian Belus.

The firſt king mentioned in ſacred hiſtory is Nimrod; whoſe age is not aſcertained by any appoſite characters: only it is ſaid, (1) *The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.* If he was the ringleader of the builders at Babel, which is no where intimated in ſcripture, but has been believed, and aſſerted, by the (2) moderns upon the authority of (3) Joſephus; he muſt be the oldeſt of all poſtdiluvian monarchs. But it will admit of a queſtion, whether he could be even born at the time of that building: nor is it probable, that a kingdom could be raiſed ſo ſoon after the diſperſion; and in the very place where the builders were confounded. It is ſaid indeed that *Chus begat Nimrod*, but this (4) phraſe may not mean, that he was the next in deſcent from Chus; becauſe the ſons of Chus, or his immediate deſcendants, together with their deſcendants, had been particularly ſpecified juſt before. (5) Some make Nimrod the ſame with Amraphel, king of Shinar in the days of Abraham;

(1) Gen. x. v. 10.

(2) Vid. Perizonii Origin. Babylon. c. 8.

(3) Antiq. Lib. 1. c. 4.

(4) I ſhall illuſtrate this phraſe by a remark of the learned Dean Prideaux. *When he* [Ezra] *is ſaid to be the ſon of Seraiah, it muſt be underſtood in that large ſenſe, wherein commonly in ſcripture any deſcendant is ſaid to be the ſon of any anceſtor, from whom he was derived: and we need ſeek no farther for an inſtance of this, than the very text, where Ezra is ſaid to be the ſon of Seraiah. For in the ſame place, Azariah is ſaid to be the ſon of Meraioth, though there were ſix between.* 2 *Chron. c.* 6, 7, 8, 9. Connection of the Old and New Teſtament. Par. I. Book V.

(5) See Sir Walt. Raleigh Hiſt. of the world. Book I. c. 1. §. 7.

which

which is an epoch leſs liable to objections. (1) Others will have him to be Ninus, founder of the Aſſyrian empire. And (2) ſome, with great probability, as I think, take Amraphel to be Ninyas the ſon of Ninus. There can be no doubt, that Nimrod poſſeſſed Shinar, and made Babel, or Babylon, the capital of his kingdom; from whence (3) Bochart, with others, concludes, that he muſt be the ſame with Belus, the firſt king of Babylon mentioned in profane hiſtory. Babylonia I take to be the eaſtern bounds of the Titan empire, that became a diſtinct kingdom after the death of Belus; and by conqueſts grew at length into the Aſſyrian empire. The Aſſyrian princes ſeem to me, to have piqued themſelves upon being the true heirs, and ſucceſſors, of Belus; and by their continual wars, to have aimed at the ſame extent of power, and territory, that he poſſeſſed; though they could never attain it. Belus, I believe, will be found to be no other than Jupiter himſelf, worſhiped under the name of Bel, or Baal, by all the eaſtern nations; and, as far as I can ſee, the firſt king, or hero, deified on this ſide India. His worſhip was ſet up by (4) Ahab in Iſrael, and his altars in Judah were taken down by Hezekiah; for which he was (5) upbraided by the Aſſy-

(1) Cumberland Orig. Gentium Antiquiſſ. p. 166, 168.

(2) Sir Walt. Raleigh. Ibid. §. 8.

(3) *Nimrodum eundem eſſe cum Belo, Nini patre, ratio temporum palam arguit.* Phaleg. Lib. 4. c. 19. Vide etiam Voſſium de Idolol. Lib. 1. c. 24.

(4) 1 Kings. c. 16. v. 32. c. 18. v. 18.

(5) *But if ye ſay unto me, we will truſt in the Lord our God, is not that He, whoſe High Places, and whoſe Altars, Hezekiah has taken away; and has ſaid to Judah, and Jeruſalem, Ye ſhall worſhip before this Altar in Jeruſalem.* 2 Kings. c. 18. v. 22.

rians. Let me add that Ninus, the ſuppoſed ſon and ſucceſſor of Belus, may be placed very near as high, as where I ſhall fix the death of Jupiter.

The reign of Ogyges the firſt Æra in Grecian hiſtory.

The Greeks could not believe that any thing had paſſed in this world before the appearance of the gods: nor could they circumſcribe their gods within any limits of time. The reign of Ogyges in Bœotia, according to Cenſorinus, is the firſt æra in their fabulous antiquity, and muſt be placed ſoon after the gods: for which we need no other proof, than that every thing, whoſe age could not be traced out, was called (1) Ogygian. The Titan empire at the death of Jupiter, like a Meteor raiſed to it's full height, naturally burſt into a thouſand ſmall ſparks, or governments, kingdoms, dynaſties, &c. all claiming their right under Jupiter; for the (2) regal power, or divine right of kings, was always thought to be derived from him. Homer beautifully gives us his thoughts on the ſubject, by introducing the (3) Sceptre, the badge of royal authority; which, he ſays, was given by Jupiter to Mercury, by Mercury to Pelops, and ſo, through a ſucceſſion of kings, it came at laſt into the hands of Agamemnon. This, by the by, was the ſecret reaſon for making Jupiter the father of ſo many gods and heroes. About that time, as it ſeems to me, the country of Bœo-

(1) ΩΓΥΓΙΟΝ. Αρχαῖον, παλαιὸν, ἢ ὑπερμέγεθες. ἢ ἀφ' τὸ Ωγυγον πρῶτον ἄρξαι τῶν Θηβῶν. Suidas in voce.

(2) Βασιλῆς εἰσὶν ἐκ βασιλέων μέχει Διός. Plato in Alcibiade.

(3) Vid. Iliad. B. v. 104.

tia,

tia, by ſome means or other, fell to the ſhare of (1) Ogyges king of the Ectenes, and ſuppoſed founder of Thebes; who is called an *Autochthon*, or *Aboriginal*, by which I underſtand a (2) Scythian, or Scytho-Grecian.

The Ogygian Deluge an uncertain Epoch

The deluge being only a fable, muſt of courſe be a very vague, and precarious, epoch, that could never be exactly ſettled by the Greeks. All, I think, that we can be ſure of, is, that if there was ſuch a deluge, it muſt be later than the deluge of Noah. For my own part, I cannot believe that any deluge happened in (3) Attica, or Bœotia, in the time of Ogyges; and apprehend, that at firſt they meant no more by it, than the univerſal deluge; which, they called Ogygian, for no other reaſon, but becauſe it preceded all their accounts of time. And then, later writers, to make it their own, could no where fix it, with greater propriety, than

(1) Γῆν δὲ πρῶτοι Θηβαίδα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον λέγουσιν Ἑκτεῖς, βασιλέα δὲ εἶναι τῶν Ἑκτέων ἄνδρα Αὐτόχθονα Ὠγυγον· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν πρώτων ἐπίκλησις ἐς τὰς Θήβας ὀρθὴν Ὠγυγίαι. Pauſanias in Bœoticis.

(2) See Enquiries concerning the Firſt inhabitants of Europe. Pag. 18, 57.

(3) It may be aſked, How came the Athenians to have any ſhare in this deluge? I anſwer, Ogyges is acknowledged to be the oldeſt king upon record, and he lived in Bœotia, of which the city of Thebes was a ſtanding monument: by this means the Thebans would have a claim to higher antiquity, than the Athenians; a thing which the latter could never brook. Therefore, out of a nice point of honour, they were content to be involved in the common calamity with their neighbours the Bœotians; and as a proof of it called their country Ogygia. Ἐλέγετο καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ πᾶσα Ὠγυγία, ὡς Χάραξ ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς. Steph. Byzant· in Ὠγύγια. I ſuſpect too, that becauſe Ogyges was called king of the *Ectenes*, they framed the fable of their king *Actæus*, in order to ſtrengthen their pretenſions. Cecrops married the daughter of *Actæus*, from whom their country *Attica*, was formerly called Ἀκταία, *Actæa*, or *Actica*. Vid. Pauſan. in Atticis. p. 4. Chron. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 1.

in the country where Ogyges lived. But whether he was ſwept away with the reſt of his people, or ſurvived the deluge, authors are not agreed.

States that aroſe out of the Titan Empire.

Of thoſe little ſtates that roſe out of the ruines of the Titan empire in Greece, the oldeſt, of which we have any records, were this of Ogyges, in Attica and Bœotia, and thoſe of Sicyon, and Argos, in Peloponneſus. The ancient fable of Phoroneus, preſerved by Hyginus, gives us an obſcure account of the beginning of theſe kingdoms, and ſays, (1) "Inachus ſon of "Oceanus had by his ſiſter Archia Phoroneus, who is "ſaid to be the firſt mortal king that reigned; men long "before his time living diſperſed about the country, "without laws, and ſpeaking one common language, "under the empire of Jupiter. But when Mercury had "interpreted the different languages of men, from whence "an interpreter is called *Hermeneutes*, he divided the "nations; and then began diſcord among mortals, be-"cauſe Jupiter was not appeaſed. Then he conferred "the regal power firſt on Phoroneus, becauſe he firſt ap-"pointed ſacrifices to Juno." This diſcord among mor-

(1) *Inachus Oceani filius, ex Archia ſorore ſua procreavit Phoroneum, qui primus mortalium dicitur regnaſſe. Homines ante ſæcula multa ſine oppidis legibuſque vitam exegerunt, una lingua loquentes ſub Jovis imperio. Sed poſtquam Mercurius ſermones hominum interpretatus eſt, unde Hermeneutes dicitur eſſe interpres, (Mercurius enim Græcè Hermes vocatur) idem nationes diſtribuit: tum diſcordia inter mortales eſſe cœpit, quod Jovi placitum non eſt. Itaque exordium regnandi tradidit Phoroneo, ob id beneficium quod Junonis ſacra primus fecit.* Hyginus Fab. 143. *Phoroneus Inachi filius Arma* [l. Aram] *Junoni primus fecit, qui ob eam cauſam primus regnandi poteſtatem habuit.* Idem Fab. 274.

tals

tals undoubtedly ſprung from the ſetting up of new ſtates and kingdoms.

Mercury ſettled the limits of nations, after Jupiter's death.

If any credit is due to this fable; after Jupiter's death, it was the office of Hermes or Mercury, to ſettle the limits of people and nations; and, I imagine, gave riſe to the notion of his being the inventor of (1) Geometry. This power, I ſuppoſe, extended no farther than the weſtern empire, which it is ſaid was bequeathed to him by his father. Tokens of his exerciſing ſuch a power, were formerly to be ſeen in many countries, either by heaps of ſtones, or quadrangular ſtone pillars, the moſt ancient (2) boundaries of land. His principal reſidence was in Egypt; and thoſe Mercurial pillars with inſcriptions, from whence ſo much hiſtory and learning of all kinds are thought to be derived, ſeem to me to have been no more than theſe boundary ſtones, that marked out the greater diſtricts of land. And of this ſort were probably thoſe pillars, which the Egyptians afterwards fabulouſly aſcribed to Seſoſtris. When the Greeks became Egyptianized, among other cuſtoms they learnt that of ſetting up ſquare ſtones for landmarks to ſecure their property, and called them (3) Hermæ in honour of the deity; as if their title to the land was founded on his appointment. This cuſtom, I

(1) Τῆτον ὃ [Θεύθ. i. e. Hermem] πρῶτον εὑρεῖν Γεωμετρίαν καὶ Ἀστρονομίαν. Plato in Phædro. Vol. 3. p. 274. Ed. Serran.

(2) Ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς κώμας Ὄρος, παρ' ὃ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀργείους ὅροι καὶ Τεγεάτας εἰσὶν, ἑστήκασι δὲ ὅπη τοῖς ὅρεσι Ἑρμαῖ λίθου, καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα. Pauſan. Corinthiac. p. 157. Ed. Sylb.

(3) ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ ΛΟΦΟΣ. Τὸς σωρὸς τῶ Λίθων, ΕΡΜΑΣ. τὸς ἐν ὁδοῖς γινομένους εἰς Τιμὼ τῆ Θεῷ, ἐνόδιος γάρ. Heſychius.

ſuppoſe,

ſuppoſe, was begun by Cecrops, for I find the (1) Athenians ſet the example to the reſt. When the arts of ſtatuary and ſculpture came into vogue, they adorned theſe pillars with a human head, and in more poliſhed times with (2) drapery down to the middle but no lower; the figure ending in a ſquare ſtone. Some artiſts added the (3) obſcene parts; but the legs, and feet were always wanting. From the Greeks the Romans formed their god Terminus, whoſe name (4) implies that His original came from Hermes; and His figure is ſo well known, and anſwers to the Hermæ abovementioned, that it needs no further deſcription.

The time of Ogyges computed.

From (5) Inachus, father of Phoroneus, the Grecian hiſtory is ſaid to begin: (6) Ægialeus brother of Phoroneus was the founder of the Sicyonian kingdom: Ogyges, Inachus, Phoroneus, and Ægialeus, are all called

(1) Αθηναίων γὰρ τὸ ϗῆμα τὸ Τετράγωνόν ἐϛιν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ερμαῖς, καὶ παρὰ τύτων μεμαθήκαϛιν οἱ ἄλλοι. Pauſan. Meſſeniacis p. 278. Ed. Sylb.

(2) Εν δὲ τῷ Γυμνασίῳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῦ Ερμῦ, ἀμπεχομένῳ μὲν ἔοικεν ἱμάτιον, καταλήγει δὲ ὐκ ἐς πόδας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Τετράγωνον ϗῆμα. Idem Arcad. p. 520.

(3) Vid. Montfaucon. Antiq. Expliq. Vol. 1. pag. 136. Pl. 77. & Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 50, 51.

(4) TYBRIS *quaſi* Τβεις *dictus eſt* ἀπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως, *id eſt ab injuria. Nam amabant majores, ubi aſpiratio erat,* Θ *ponere.* Servius ad Æn. VIII. v. 330.

(5) Διὸ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν τὴν τῆς Ελληνικῆς ἱϛορίας ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Ινάχου εἶναι τοῦ Αργείου. Ocellus Lucanus Περὶ Πάντος, ſive de Univerſo. c. 3. Mr. Jackſon's reaſon for making *Inachi regnum*, a falſe reading, for *Ilii Excidium*, is, *Becauſe the reign of Inachus was not any Æra amongſt the ancient Greeks.* But I think it appears from hence to be a very conſiderable one: tho' it might be ſet too high, or too low, in this qark period of Chronology. See Chronological Antiquities. Vol. 3. p. 331.

(6) Ωκεανῦ καὶ Τηθύος γίνεται παῖς Ἴναχος ἀφ' ὗ ποταμὸς ἐν Ἄργει Ἴναχος· τύτου καὶ Μελίσσης τῆς Ωκεανῦ, Φορωνεύς τε καὶ Αἰγιαλεὺς παῖδες ἐγένοντο. Αἰγιαλέως μὲν ὖν ἄπαιδος ἀποθανόντος ἡ χώρα ἅπασα Αἰγιάλεια ἐκλήθη. Apollod. Lib. I. c. 1.

Autoch-

Autochthones: and the (1) deluge is ſaid to have happened in the time of Phoroneus. By theſe circumſtances it appears to me, that all theſe kingdoms began about the ſame time: and yet by a reckoning of kings, and the years of their reigns, the (2) Sicyonian kingdom began near 400 years before the Argive. Either therefore the Greeks had raiſed their antiquities ſo many centuries too high, which is (3) Sir Iſaac Newton's opinion; or perhaps, through ſome defect in the catalogue of kings, had brought them down too low in the caſe of the Argive kingdom: one of theſe two ſuppoſitions muſt be granted, before we can bring the time of Ægialeus to coincide with that of his brother Phoroneus. As the Jews preſerved genealogies and ſucceſſions, ſo the Greeks certainly had ſome method of keeping records of their kings, and of the years of their reigns; otherwiſe (4) Caſtor Rhodius the chronologer in Julius Cæſar's time could not have collected the catalogues, both of the Argive and Sicyonian kings, as we find he did. And may we not think, that theſe records were more carefully preſerved in ſome kingdoms, than in others? The Thebans ſeem to have loſt all theirs, between the time of Ogyges and Cadmus: and the Athenians to have forgot all that paſt before the time of Cecrops: nor had the Arcadians, who boaſted ſo great antiquity, any left before Lycaon, whom (5) Pauſanias makes

(1) Ἐφ' ᾧ [Ogyge] γέγονον ὁ μέγας καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατακλυσμὸς, Φορωνέως Ἀργείων βασιλεύοντος, ὡς Ἀκουσίλαος ἱστορεῖ. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. X. c. 10.

(2) See Mr Jackſon's Chronol. Antiq. Vol. 3.

(3) See the Introduction to his Chronology.

(4) Euſeb. Canon. Chron. Græc. p. 19, 25.

(5) Δοκῶ ὃ ἔγωγε Κέκροπι ἡλικίαν πρὸ βασιλεύσαντι Ἀθηναίων, ἢ Λυκάονι, εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν. Pauſanias in Arcadicis. p. 456. Ed. Sylb.

cotemporary

cotemporary with Cecrops. For want of better evidence we are forced to admit theſe jejune accounts of time, where, it muſt be owned, we have little more than a bare liſt of kings names, without a ſufficient number of facts to atteſt them. If the (1) Sicyonian Æra is the point from whence we are to reckon, it will fall about the year 2170 before Chriſt, or about 1400 before the Olympiads; if from the time of (2) Inachus and Phoroneus, about 1700 before Chriſt, and about 1000 before the Olympiads. Whether of theſe two is the right, I have not authority enough to determine; the reader muſt judge for himſelf. Cenſorinus, as it ſeems to me, meant to compute by the former; by placing the Ogygian deluge 400 years before Inachus. The chief criterion I make uſe of, is the religious rites of Greece; which I think could not begin, whilſt any of the Gods were living; notwithſtanding what is reported of Saturn ſacrificing to Uranus, and of Jupiter to Saturn. The Cabiric myſteries were confeſſedly their oldeſt worſhip; and I think, could not take place, as religious rites, till after Jupiter's deceaſe. Terah the father of Abraham is the

(1) See Mr Jackſon's Chronological Antiquities. Vol. 3. p. 302, 303, &c.

(2) Tho' we give it as the common opinion, that Inachus lived about 1000 years before the Olympiads, yet it was not generally ſo received. For Euſebius obſerves that "Many reckoned from Inachus the firſt, to "Sthenelus the ninth, Argive king, 413 years." Ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπὸ μὲν πρώτου Ινάχου, ἕως τοῦ Θ Σθενένελου ἐτῶν υιγ. Euſeb. Can. Chron. p. 24. Add theſe 413 years to the time of Danaus, who diſpoſſeſſed Gelanor, ſon of Sthenelus; and they will ſet Inachus's age 1200 years before the Olympiads, and near 2000 before Chriſt; which anſwers to the reckoning of Cenſorinus.

firſt

firſt (1) idolater we read of; and (2) Euſebius and (3) St Epiphanius date the gentile worſhip no higher, than from the time of Serug grandfather of Terah. Serug's age is determined by (4) ſcripture; and part of his life will fall in with the Sicyonian Æra; and I could not ſet the Grecian idolatry higher than his time. From the times of Ogyges and Inachus, the Autochthones and Pelaſgians were maſters of Greece; till new colonies arrived under Cecrops and Danaus from Egypt, Deucalion from Scythia, Cadmus from Phenicia, when the Pelaſgians began to decline in power, and at length were obliged to ſeek new ſeats in Italy, and other countries. Different æras are aſſigned to theſe new colonies; but between the firſt and laſt, I cannot ſuppoſe the diſtance of ſo much as one century; and all to be later than the migration of the children of Iſrael from Egypt. Deucalion brought with him another deluge into Greece, which, by the faireſt account, may be placed 400 years before the deſtruction of Troy; and we are told, that between Ogyges and Deucalion was an (5) interval of 600 years. This reckoning places Ogyges 1400 years before the

(1) *Your fathers dwelt on the other ſide of the floud in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor: and they ſerved other gods.* Joſhua. c. 24. v. 3.

(2) Ἐγεννήθη Σερὲχ, ὅτις πρῶτος ἤρξατο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῆς δογμάτος τῆς Εἰδωλολατρείας. Euſebii Græca apud Scalig. pag. 13.

(3) Ἑλληνισμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ Σερὲχ ἐναρξάμενος· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ Εἰδωλολατρεία. S. Epiphan. Reſp. ad Epiſt. Acacii.

(4) Gen. XI. v. 22, 23.

(5) *Inter Ogygum ſane & Deucalionem medium ævum* DC *annis datur.* Jul. Solinus Polyhiſt. c. 11.

Olympiads; which nearly agrees with Varro, who ſays, (1) *Thebes was built by Ogyges* 2100 *years before his time*. This too correſponds with the Sicyonian æra; and by my reckoning will make Ogyges almoſt coeval with Jupiter; and with great probability was the true time of his exiſtence.

A ſummary deduction of times to the Chriſtian Æra.

As few readers perhaps will charge their memories with the particulars of my calculation; for their greater eaſe I ſhall ſubjoin a table, or deduction of times, drawn from the authorities above quoted. The ſcarcity of materials, with the different computations of authors, may excuſe the want of preciſeneſs, in a period of years that begins ſo far back from the Chriſtian æra: but if we can come within fifty, or even an hundred, of the true age of the ſeveral facts; it is certainly more ſatisfactory, than to know nothing at all of the time when they happened. For this reaſon I avoid all fractions, as quite unneceſſary, and compute only by whole numbers. It is well if we can come near to the truth by this way of reckoning; and thoſe who have endeavoured to be more exact, after all their pains, I am afraid, will be found to have come never the nearer.

(1) *Thebæ, quæ ante cataclyſmon Ogygi conditæ dicuntur, eæ tamen circiter duo millia annorum & centum ſunt.* Varro de re Ruſtica. Lib. 3.

The

The Titan Age calculated.	Years
Uranus ſuppoſed to reign	30.
Saturn ——	60.
Jupiter ——	60.
Ogyges before Deucalion	600.
Deucalion before Troy	400.
Troy bef. the Olympiads	400.
Olympiads before Chriſt	770.
Before Chriſt	2320.

Fabulous Age of Cenſorinus.	Years
Ogygian Deluge bef. Inachus	400.
Inachus before Deucalion	400.
Deucalion before Troy —	400.
Troy before the Olympiads	400.
The Olympiads ——	770.
Before Chriſt	2370.

Varro's Account of time.	Years
Ogyges bef. Varro	2100.
Varro before Chriſt	70.
The Titan Empire	150.
Before Chriſt	2320.

This method of calculation may paſs for true, till ſome body ſhall find out one more accurate. In the mean time, I leave the authorities to ſtand or fall by their own weight: and only poſtulate, what I think cannot be denied, that Varro and Cenſorinus could mean nothing more by the *Fabulous Age*, than the time that began with the firſt gods, or kings of Greece, and ended at the Olympiads. The Ogygian deluge therefore, from whence Cenſorinus begins his computation, as being the firſt fact recorded in hiſtory, muſt be the beginning of what I call the Titan empire; which he places 1600 years before the Olympiads. This occaſions a difference of 50 years between his, and the collateral tables; which fifty years muſt be added to the years of the gods, for they can come in no where elſe. And if the reader ſhall think this conſiſtent with the æra of Idolatry, he may follow the reckoning of Cenſorinus.

Theſe calculations compared with ſcripture.

To bring our calculations to the teſt, we muſt confront them with the ſacred hiſtory. And here we are under ſome difficulty at firſt ſetting out, occaſioned by the preſent text of the Hebrew, varying from the Greek tranſlation of the Septuagint. The He-

brew genealogies make Abraham to live only 292 years after the floud; the Greek 1072; ſo that here is a difference of 780 years. Abraham, I think, cannot be ſuppoſed to live ſo early as 292 years after the floud; becauſe this term does not allow ſufficient time for the propagation of mankind. And for this reaſon alone the Hebrew chronology muſt be rejected: tho' there are not wanting other good reaſons, to think that it has been corrupted, and that deſignedly, by the Jews. I know that (1) learned men have computed the increaſe of mankind to the amount of many millions about that time; but, admitting their computations to be juſt, they do not inform us how theſe millions were diſpoſed of on the face of the globe: and few of them ſeem to me to have come into Chaldæa, Meſopotamia, Arabia, or Canaan. For tho' we find the earth peopled in the true time of Abraham, at leaſt as far as Egypt: tho' we find cities and countries governed by kings, and they at war with one another; yet, if we may judge from the number of their forces brought into the field, the countries thereabout were even then but thinly inhabited. I have extracted a ſhort ſcheme of chronology from a good (2) authority, which the reader I believe will find ſtrictly agreeing with the times of ſcripture; and he may judge, whether the facts mentioned in Greek authors come properly, and without forcing, into the places which I have allotted them, in this dark period of profane hiſtory.

(1) See Bp Cumberland's Orig. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p. 150.

(2) Mr Maſſon's Sacred Chronology of the Pentateuch, publiſhed with Mr Parker's *Biblioth. Biblica*. Oxon. 1727.

The

Before Chriſt.

The Floud began. 3247.

Arphaxad ſon of Sem born. 3245.

Cainan ſon of Arphaxad born. 3110.

Salah ſon of Cainan born. 2980.

Noah died 350 years after the floud. 2897.

Heber ſon of Salah born. 2850.

Sem died 600 years old. 2745.

The building of Babel. . . . .

Peleg, or Phaleg, ſon of Heber born. 1716.

At his birth the diſperſion of mankind.

Ragau, or Reu, ſon of Phaleg born. 2586.

Serug ſon of Reu born. 2454.

2347.

. . . .

The Scythian Age began according to St Epiphanius. Adv. Hæreſ. Lib. I.

In the Scythian Age, about 900 years, or more, after the floud, we place the expeditions of Bacchus and Uranus from the north.

Theſe Gods formed the Two (1) firſt great empires that we

(1) Some perhaps may think the Chineſe empire older than theſe of Bacchus and Uranus, becauſe the firſt king Fohi may be placed a century or two before our Bacchus: but it muſt be obſerved, that their moſt authentic books begin the hiſtory with Iaus, Yao, or Yau, the good emperour, who reigned before Chriſt 2337. *Vid. Couplet Chronol. Sinic. pag.* 3. this differs but a little from the age of our Bacchus. And if any author of note, from the name, time, and general character of both, ſhould be tempted to think, that Jaus and Bacchus were the ſame perſon; I ſhall not go about to diſprove him.

read

read of in profane hiſtory: the one in the eaſt, the other more weſtward.

. . . . Some time after Bacchus, we ſuppoſe the Indian Hercules to have flouriſhed.

Nahor ſon of Serug born. 2324.

2300. About this time we ſuppoſe Saturn to reign, and the Titan war to commence, which was continued by the Giants.

2295. Jupiter ſon of Saturn and Rhea born.

. . . . Jupiter was engaged with his father in the Titan war, and at laſt put an end to it.

Terah ſon of Nahor born. 2245.

2237. Jupiter ſole monarch on his father's abdication.

2223. Calliſthenes's Babylonian Obſervations began about this time. *Vid. Simplicius in Ariſt. de Cœlo. Lib.* 2.

Abraham ſon of Terah born. 2175. Jupiter died 120 years old.

. . . . Some time after this, we ſuppoſe the kings, mentioned by Greek authors, to be ſettled in their reſpective governments: Ninus in Aſſyria; Zoroaſtres in Bactria; Menes, or Oſiris in Egypt; Ogyges in Bœotia; Inachus, Phoroneus, and Ægialeus, in Peloponneſus.

Serug died 330 *years old.* 2124. With Serug ended the Scythian Age of St Epiphanius; and then began Helleniſm, or Gentile Idolatry.

Abraham

. . . . .

Ninus ſet up the worſhip of Belus in Babylon. *Vid. S. Hieronym. in Hoſeam. c. 2. v. 17.*

Abraham came into Meſopotamia, leaving Chaldea, as it is thought upon the account of Idolatry practiſed there. 2105.

Terah died. He ſerved other gods. 2100.

Abraham came into Canaan. 2099.

Now we read of many kings in the hiſtory of Moſes, Amraphel king of Shinar, Chederlaomer and his confederates, the king of Sodom, &c. Melchiſedeck of Salem, Abimelech of Gerar, Pharaoh of Egypt, &c.

Iſhmael ſon of Abraham born. 2089.

Iſaac born. 2075.

Jacob and Eſau born. 2015.

Abraham died 175 years old. 2000.

Iſaac died aged 180. 1895.

Jacob died in Egypt aged 147. 1865.

Moſes born. 1745.

Exodus of the Iſraelites from Egypt. 1667.

After

A new Æra in Grecian Hiſtory.

After this Epoch I place the ſeveral migrations of Cecrops, Danaus, Deucalion, and Cadmus: and believe that they happened at no great diſtance of time from each other. What occaſioned ſuch a conflux of foreigners, we are not told as I remember by any hiſtorian. It appears that they were driven from other countries, but how they came to take refuge in Greece, is the queſtion. Greece ſeems to have been at that time in a defenceleſs ſtate, either through the indolence, or the want, of inhabitants, or both. The Pelaſgians, then in poſſeſſion, were at firſt intruders, but by degrees naturalized to the country; and all that related to it was now in their hands. The new comers neglected the ancient Pelaſgic hiſtory; and the natives, where any were left, may be ſuppoſed to have loſt their ſpirit with their liberty, and took no further care about it. That the Greeks could have no credible hiſtory or chronology before this time, has been urged from the want of letters; an objection that may be made to all hiſtories wrote before that period: and yet this want might be ſupplied by other means, unknown to us at preſent. The hiſtory and chronology of the world before Moſes was carefully preſerved, but not by letters. The hieroglyphics of the Chineſe and Egyptians carried on the hiſtory of thoſe nations without any other aſſiſtance. Among the Greeks, ſongs delivered down from father to ſon, as is obſerved of their northern anceſtors, might be ſufficient to preſerve facts, ſucceſſions, generations, &c. Or if ſomething more than bare memory was required; the Greeks were not of ſo dull a genius, but that they could invent real

real characters or ſymbols to expreſs their thoughts and meaning. And this, I believe moſt people agree, was the (1) practice of all other nations before the invention of letters. It is certain that ſeveral things relating to the ancient ſtate of Greece eſcaped the general diſſipation. The name of Ogyges in Bœotia might be preſerved by tradition only: but thoſe liſts of the Argive and Sicyonian kings were probably regiſtered in the temple of Juno at Argos. The order of prieſteſſes of Juno began in the reign of Phoroneus; and Hellanicus the Leſbian, one of the oldeſt Greek hiſtorians, (2) adjuſted his hiſtory to their times, as moſt certain epochs. If the new colonies deſtroyed the old records, they however made the Greek hiſtory ſome amends by their care afterwards: for from this time it begins to put on a better face, tho' ſtill clouded with fable. We now find a greater number of facts committed to writing, more genealogies and ſucceſſions recorded, and in ſhort materials of all kinds for the hiſtorian; who yet could not effectually exerciſe his

(1) Perhaps I cannot better illuſtrate this practice, than by an ancient wooden inſtrument, formerly in uſe with our anceſtors, and derived to them from the Saxons and Runes: I mean the Clog Almanack. or Calendar. This without letters points out diſtinctly, not only the days and months of each quarter of the year; but the Saints Days, and other Chriſtian feſtivals, by intelligible characters. The ſeveral feaſts of the Virgin are denoted by the figure of an Heart, the Epiphany by a Star, St Dunſtan by a wide ſpreading Plant, or Flower, St Peter by Two Keys, St Laurence by a Gridiron, &c. See Dr Plot's Hiſtory of Staffordſhire. Pag. 420, 421, &c.

(2) Ὡς μὲν Ἑλλάνικος ὁ Λέσβιος φησι Τείτῃ γενεᾷ πρότερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, ΑΛΚΥΟΝΗΣ Ἰερεμένης ἐν Ἄργει καὶ τὸ ἕκτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Lib. I. p. 18. Ἀναγραφὰς, ἢ ταῖς τῶν Ἱερέων, ἢ ταῖς πρεσβύσις τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων. Idem. De Charact. Thucydidis.

talent, till the poetical hiſtory was forced to give place to proſe writing.

Of the origin of the Scythians.

As we have ſuppoſed the Greeks to be a colony from Scythia, and their hiſtory to begin from Scythian gods; we may be permitted to go a little out of the way to enquire into the origin of the Scythians themſelves. The hiſtory delivered to us by Moſes is the moſt (1) ancient of all hiſtories now known, and therefore muſt be the ſtandard of the reſt. Where heathen authors do not differ from it, they may be credited: and where they have miſapplied any parts of it, we know where to have recourſe, to come at the truth. This hiſtory is a sketch, or abſtract, of the hiſtory of the world: not meant to give a compleat hiſtory, for that would have been too large. The chief deſign of it is, to ſhew the deſcent of the Jews from their great anceſtor Abraham, and his from Sem. Upon this account the beginning of the Aſſyrian empire is ſlightly touched upon, becauſe it comprehended Babylonia, Chaldæa, Meſopotamia, countries where Abraham is ſaid to have ſojourned. But little notice is taken of Japhet; tho' there are ſeveral reaſons to think him the eldeſt ſon of Noah, and his family ſeems to be the moſt numerous; (2) ſeven of his ſons being mentioned as the fathers of nations. That vaſt part of the continent of Aſia, bordered by the Caſpian ſea to the weſt, the Scythian, or icy, ſea to the north, and the

(1) Παγλαχόθεν ἔγ γνῶναι ράδιον, ὅτι πολλῷ ἀρχαιοτάτῳ πασῶν τῶν ἔξωθεν ἱστοριῶν τὴν Μωυσέως ἱστορίαν εἶναι συμβαίνει. Juſtin. Mart. Admon. ad Gentes.

(2) Geneſis. Cap. 10. v. 2. 1 Chron. Cap. 1. v. 5.

eaſtern

eaſtern ocean, is ſcarce to be found in the hiſtory: and yet by conſtant tradition is believed to be the portion of Japhet, and of his poſterity; and the inhabitants to this day acknowledge him for their founder.

The Northern Nations believe, that they deſcended from Japhet.

The Floud deſtroyed all memorials of paſt times, except what were preſerved in the family of Noah: and therefore the records of nations, that would be thought to precede that epoch, and are not countenanced by the Moſaic hiſtory, are void of all probability. Of this ſort are the antediluvian dynaſties of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, which ought to be conſigned to the land of fables; becauſe Moſes mentions no kingdoms or ſtates before the floud; and if he had, what way could there be of preſerving their hiſtory? For as to antediluviam (2) pillars, and inſcriptions, every reader now, I preſume, knows

(1) The moſt ancient memorials of things were probably preſerved by engravings on Stones, or Pillars; but what we are told of the contents of theſe monuments, is liable to much ſuſpicion. Several authors boaſt of deriving their materials from them; and would perſwade us that they were the only repoſitories of ancient knowledge. The Chaldeans, according to Beroſus, had antediluvian writings, I ſuppoſe on tables of ſtone, made by Xiſuthrus, who was their Noah. Sanchoniathon took his Phenician Antiquities from the writings of Taaut, or Mercury. Manetho the Egyptian hiſtorian drew his dynaſties, *From Pillars that were ſet up in the land of Seriad*; a country that the moderns have ſought for to no purpoſe. Theſe inſcriptions, he ſays, were made by the firſt Thoth, or Mercury, before the floud; and were tranſlated into hieroglyphics by Agathodæmon, or the ſecond Hermes, after the floud. From hence Joſephus took occaſion to frame the Pillars of Seth, fraught with aſtronomical obſervations, *Which*, he ſays, *were ſtill in being in the land of Siriad.* But I think we have ſaid more than enough of theſe ſuppoſititious records. See Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr. Book I. c. 2.

what to think of them. What followed was not ſo ſubject to oblivion. The repeopling of the world by the three ſons of Noah was a matter of hiſtory, that it concerned every man to remember: nor is it eaſy to conceive that their names could be forgot, till the earth was in a great meaſure overſpread by their poſterity; and then perhaps remembered longeſt in thoſe countries, where the head of the family firſt reſided. It is a queſtion that muſt occur to every curious reader, "From "whence came this general perſwaſion of the northern "nations, that they were deſcendants of Japhet?" Had they it by primeval tradition, or from the books of Moſes? Perhaps it will be anſwered, "From Neither:" but from their ſouthern neighbours, the Arabians, Medes, and Perſians. But at what time could this happen? Anſwer. The Medes and Perſians might learn it from the Ten Tribes, who were diſperſed among them by (1) Salmanaſſer; and the Arabians, who carried their arms into Tartary, may be ſuppoſed to have had ſome knowledge of the ſacred books, from the time of Mahomet. But where do the ſacred books expreſsly ſay, that Japhet was the father of theſe northern nations? Anſwer. The progreſs of Sem and Ham is marked out by the Eaſt, South, and Weſt; and no other road, except the North, is left for Japhet. But this is not ſolving the difficulty; nor anſwering, but rather begging, the queſtion.

(1) 2 Kings. c. 17. v. 6.

Ever

What grounds there are for ſuch an opinion.

Ever ſince the revival of letters, to reconcile ſacred to profane hiſtory, has been the task of the learned men of Europe, who knew very little of theſe northern regions of Aſia. The ſcriptures indeed intimate, that the Sons of Japhet, Gomer, Magog, &c. were ſituated to the northward of Paleſtine: but this is not ſufficient to account for the general belief, that prevailed throughout that wide country of which we are ſpeaking. The only ancient authour, who could afford the moderns any light, was Joſephus: and he has indeed placed the ſons of Japhet to the north of Paleſtine, but in ſouthern climes, well known to the Jews, Greeks, and Romans; and perhaps for that very reaſon, becauſe they were well known; for he ſeems to be as ignorant as the moderns themſelves, of the countries beyond the Caſpian. And all that he ſays to the purpoſe, (1) is, "Magog was the anceſtor of the Magogians who are "called by the Greeks Scythians." The Scythians made (2) irruptions at ſeveral times into ſouthern Aſia, and gained ſettlements on that ſide of the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas as far as Cappadocia; and their country might be

(1) Μαγώγης ἢ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῆ Μαγώγας ὀνομαδέντας ὥκισε, Σκύθας ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορευομένους. Antiq. Jud. Lib. I. c. 6. Some learned moderns are of opinion, that the name, and memory, of Magog is preſerved in the word Moguls, or Mogures, who are north-eaſtern Tartars. *Quod autem Tartaros principio* MOGLOS *vocatos ait* [Haithonus] *eo non obſcuram gentis originem denotari ſentio. Eſt enim a Magog filio Japheti; nec ambigam, inde nomen* MOGLI *ita manſiſſe; uti etiamnum Turcos a Perſis* MOGORES *appellari ſupra meminimus.* Reiner. Reineccius Append. in Haython. Armen. Hiſt. Orient. Cap. 16.

(2) Herodot. Lib. I. c. 103, 104, 105. IV. c. 11, 12.

called

called Scythia. Theſe then ſeem to be the Magogians, or Scythians, meant by Joſephus; but are extreamly different from the Scythians beyond the Caſpian. The latter muſt have been as little acquainted with Joſephus, as with the ſacred hiſtory: and therefore there is more reaſon to think, that this was an opinion kept up by tradition among the inhabitants of the country; than that it aroſe from this ſingle, and imperfect, teſtimony of Joſephus. For tho' the ancient hiſtory of the poſtdiluvian world is now to be found in one book only, preſerved by the Jews; yet there is reaſon to believe, that its contents were common, and known to other nations, eſpecially to the eaſtern; as appears from ſome of their fables quoted by modern travellers.

The Turks and Tartars deſcended from Japhet.

From whence ſoever they had their information, it is certain that the Turks and Tartars, who make the bulk of the inhabitants of this vaſt region, (1) affirm that, "They are deſcended "from Turk eldeſt ſon of Japhis, who was the youngeſt "ſon of Nui." This genealogy, allowing for it's diſagreement with ſcripture, which ſeems to make Japhet the eldeſt ſon of Noah, and Gomer eldeſt ſon of Japhet, may not be entirely without foundation. Eſpecially if the pedigree ran thus, as perhaps it did originally, *Turk youngeſt ſon of Japhis, who was the eldeſt ſon of Nui.* If affinity of names is to be our guide in this caſe, and we ſeem to have little more at preſent; I would take Thyras, Tyras, or Turas, to be the perſon from whom the

(1) See Abulghaſi's Hiſtory of the Turks and Tatars. Book I. c. 2.

Turks

Turks are deſcended; tho' he is the laſt in order of the ſons of Japhet, and commonly reckoned the father of the (1) Thiraſians, or, as the Greeks called them, Thracians. Affinity of ſound, we ſee, is at the bottom of both opinions; and, I think, favours the Turks, at leaſt as much as the Thracians. Beſides, I have here the good fortune to agree with the Jewiſh rabbies: for the Targums of Jonathan and Jeruſalem, in giving the colonies and provinces of the ſeveral planters, at Gen. X. v. 2. inſtead of the Hebrew *Tiras*, or *Thiras*, by others rendered *Thracia*, write תרקי *Turki*, by which (2) Elias Levita underſtands *Turcia*. There is a way of reconciling this difference, by ſuppoſing the Thracians to have had at firſt the ſame name with the Turks, nor is this improbable: for the *Turcæ* of (3) Pomponius Mela, who ſeem to be the (4) *Iurcæ* of Herodotus, are placed in Aſiatic Scythia, beyond the Tanais and Palus Mœotis; and were probably the firſt people that entered, and ſettled in Thrace.

(1) Θειρᾶς δὲ Θείρας μὲν ἐκάλεσεν ὧν ἦρξεν· Ελληνες δὲ Θρᾶκας μετονόμασαν. Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. I. c. 6.

(2) Vid. Eliæ Levitæ Lex. Chaldaic. & Buxtorf. Lex. Chald.

(3) *Juxta Thyſſagetæ* Turcæque *vaſtas ſylvas occupant, alunturque venando.* De Situ Orbis. Lib. I. c. 22.

(4) Νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον· ζώουσι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. συνεχέες δὲ τουτοῖσι κατοικημένοισι εἰσὶ τοῖσι οὔνομα κεῖται Ιῦρκαι. καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ θήρης ζώοντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Herod. Lib. IV. c. 22. Herodotus and Mela without queſtion meant the ſame people, as being neighbours to the Thyſſagetæ; and living after the ſame manner by hunting. The different reading muſt be imputed to an errour in the copies of Herodotus, occaſioned by the mutilation of the letter Τ in Ιῦρκαι. The learned reader may poſſibly recollect an inſcription on the reverſe of a coin of Carauſius; which not many years ſince produced, what ſome antiquaries thought, a very great diſcovery; and others, that it was only owing to a like mutilation of the ſame letter.

The

The Ruſſians of Aſia deſcendants of Japhet.

The Ruſſians of Aſia, according to the eaſtern writers, are deſcended from (1) "Ruſs fourth ſon "of Japhet." Here another difficulty ſtarts up. From whence could the eaſtern writers receive this notion? Not from the Ten Tribes, nor from the Arabians; unleſs they had other copies of the Hebrew text, than we have at preſent: and as to Joſephus, he is altogether ſilent in this caſe. Ruſs, it is certain, has no affinity to any ſcripture name of the ſons of Japhet, yet tends to corroborate the general opinion, That the northern nations were deſcended from him. The word in the original means an *Head*, but ſignifies a perſon in the Septuagint verſion of Ezechiel, (2) *Son of man ſet thy face againſt Gog, in the land of Magog, the chief* Rhos, *Meſech and Tubal.* Whether this Rhos was the perſon meant by the eaſtern writers, I know not; he is omitted in Moſes's liſt of the ſons of Japhet, but by being here joined with Magog, Meſech, and Tubal, ſeems to have a claim to be one of the number.

Ruſſians and Muſcovites from Rhos and Meſech.

Upon the ſuppoſition that the ſons of Japhet were ſituated in Southern Aſia, the learned Bochart framed, what ſeems to me, a prepoſterous origin of the Ruſſians. He found in Hebrew and Arabic authors, that the river Araxes, which falls into the Caſpian from the South, was called Rhos, and conſequently the

(1) See Abulghazi's Hiſt. of Turks &c. pag. 668.

(2) Υιε ἀνθρώπου στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ Γὼγ, καὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ Μαγὼγ, ἄρχοντα ΡΩΣ, Μοσὸχ, καὶ Θοβέλ. Ezek. c. 38. v. 2.

country

country Araxene had the ſame name. From whence he (1) conjectured, that theſe ſouthern Scythians, or Rhos and Meſech, entered the Tauric Cherſoneſus, which he finds was likewiſe called Rhos, and gave names to the *Ruſſi* and *Moſchi*, or Ruſſians and Muſcovites in Europe. But is it not more probable, that theſe people had thoſe names before this imaginary return of the Scythians; and even before their firſt irruptions into ſouthern Aſia? I could not but caution my readers againſt ſo doubtful an hypotheſis; though it is foreign to our queſtion, viz. How the eaſtern writers came by their notion, that Ruſs was the fourth ſon of Japhet, and father of the Aſiatic Ruſſians: but to return to our ſubject.

The difficulty of treating Fabulous Hiſtory.

Diodorus ſays (2) "The "times of the Fabulous Age, "before the Trojan war, can-"not be preciſely ſettled, becauſe there is no fixt point "to be depended on, from whence they can be compu-"ted." The ancient hiſtorians therefore wiſely declined the buſineſs, becauſe they could draw from thence no uniform ſcheme of tranſactions. For inſtance, no man could ſet down to write the whole hiſtory of Jupiter, without being aware of a thouſand parachroniſms, that he muſt be guilty of in the courſe of narration. Diffe-

(1) *Credibile eſt ex Rhos & Meſech, id eſt, ex Rhoſſis & Moſchis vicinis populis circa Araxem, de quibus Ezechiel, deſcendiſſe Ruſſos & Moſcovitas, gentes in Europæa Scythia celeberrimas. Ruſſi tranſmiſſo Araxe, videntur primo occupaſſe Tauricam Cherſoneſum & de ſuo nomine Rhos appellaſſe.* Phaleg. Lib. 3. c. 18.

(2) Τῶν δὲ χρόνων τούτων παρειλημμένων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πραγματείᾳ, τὰς μὲν περὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἀμφισβήτησιν βεβαίως, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀδιάπτωμα παρειληφέναι περὶ τούτων πιστεύομεν. Diodor. Lib. I. p. 4.

rent names of the ſame gods, together with different gods of the ſame names, muſt be often very perplexing; and the ſcene of the ſame actions, laid in different times and countries, muſt occaſion endleſs confuſion; and beſides all this, the marvellous and incredible way of relating them, was utterly inconſiſtent with the modeſt gravity of hiſtory. The Philoſophers on the other hand, who were the profeſſed guardians of virtue and religion, ſhocked at the vices, which the gods had in common with the worſt of mortals, frequently touched upon the facts; but called in allegory to their aſſiſtance, and explained them to a more inoffenſive meaning. Thus, tho' they preſerved the facts, they annihilated all the hiſtory.

The firſt religion of Greece not from Egypt.

But the moderns are not under the ſame reſtraints; for they know that the heathen gods were men, and ſubject to human paſſions; and can diſtinguiſh truth from fiction in the fables. What has chiefly embarraſſed them in ſearching into fabulous antiquity, is that inveterate error of the Greeks themſelves, "That all their religion came from Phenicia and "Egypt." Whereas it is very clear to me, and I believe will appear ſo to others, upon their own repreſentation, that Uranus, the Titans, and Cabiri, their firſt deities, came from the Pelaſgians, Thracians, or Scythians; and that the Cabiric worſhip was known, and eſtabliſhed in Greece, long before the arrival of Cecrops, or any other Egyptian ſtrangers: and, had it been known in Phenicia, Cadmus needed not to have gone ſo far as Greece, or Thrace, to be initiated.

Here

Of the origin of the Pelaſgians.

Here it may be proper juſt to compare the antiquities of other nations with thoſe of the Greeks; and to ſhew the connection they bear with each other. After the Autocthones, whom I ſhall venture to call Cimmerians, or Scythians, the Pelaſgians muſt be accounted the moſt ancient people of Greece; but not aboriginal natives of the ſoil, as the later Greeks fondly imagined. Theſe, as we obſerved before, were ſo called from being a (1) ſea-faring people, and came originally from (2) Thrace; and I ſuppoſe from the maritime coaſts, both on this ſide, and beyond, the Boſphorus: and, according to ſome writers, wandered over, and conquered almoſt the (3) whole world. They ſeem to have been a mixture of people, that grew very numerous by gradual acceſſions of men, who took to that way of life. They were all called Pelaſgians from their profeſſion; though they might be of different nations, like the northern people, who invaded the weſtern parts of Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries, called in our hiſtorians by the general name of *Pirates*.

(1) See Enquiries concerning Europe. Pag. 14, 41.

(2) Τὴν Σκίαθον ἐκ Θράκης διαβάντες, ὡς λόγος,
Πελασγιῶται. Scymnus Chius Perieg. p. 24.

(3) Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν, Πελασγοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστα τῆς οἰκουμένης πλανηθέντας, ἀνθρώπων τῶν πλείστων κρατήσαντας, αὐτόθι κατοικῆσαι. Plutarch. in Romulo.

The Pelasgian Antiquities and Deities.

The Pelasgians (1) instituted the Cabiric mysteries in Samothrace, which is the first notice we have of the Greek religion. Herodotus, says, (2) "The "Pelasgians at first sacrificed, and invoked the gods, "without calling them by their names, which they had "not yet heard of; but that a long time after they learnt "them from Egypt." This is true in part; for tho' the Cabiri without doubt had their proper names, yet they were always kept secret in the mysteries. Cadmus and his followers, when they came into Bœotia, adhered to the Cabiric rites; but the other colonies who came into Greece about the same time, with Cecrops, Danaus, and Deucalion, seem to have introduced other modes of worship. That of (3) Minerva in Attica began in the reign of Cecrops; Danaus built a temple to (4) Apollo Lycius in Argos; and Deucalion is said to be the first, who (5) built temples and altars to the Twelve gods. I have

(1) Τῶν γὰρ Σαμοθρηίκιων οἰκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ ἔτοι, τοί περ Ἀθηναίοισι συνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων Σαμοθρήϊκες τὰ Ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 51.

(2) Ἔθνεον δὲ καὶ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ἐπωνυμίην δ' ἐδ' ὄνομα ἐπιεῖντο ἔδενι αὐτέων· ἐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω· — Ἔπειτα δ' χρόνῳ πολλῷ διελθόντῳ, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπηγμένα τὰ ἐνόμαλα τῶν Θεῶν. Idem. Lib. 2. c. 52.

(3) *Cecrope regnante primum in arce Oliva orta est: & ex Minervæ nomine, quæ Græce Athena dicitur, Athenæ nuncupatæ.* Euseb. Chron. A°. 460.

(4) Ἀργείοις δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον ἔδειν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, Ἀτίλλου ἦν Ἀθηναίου, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Δαναοῦ, καὶ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνάθημα ἦν. Pausanias. Corinth. Lib. 2. p. 118.

(5) Ἔνθα Προμηθεὺς
Ἰαπετονίδης, ἀγαθὸν τέκε Δευκαλίωνα·
Ὃς πρῶτος ποίησε πόλεις, καὶ ἐδείματο νηοὺς
Ἀθανάτοις, πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶπων βασίλευσεν.
Apollon. Argon. Lib. 3. v. 1087.

Ὅτι

endeavoured to prove, that theſe Twelve Gods were the Cabiri, and that they were contemporary with Jupiter; and ſee no reaſon yet to alter my opinion. This then ſeems to be the time, when gods were multiplied in Greece; when the Cabiri were ſeparately worſhiped, and their names made public; and we may place it more than 1500 years before the Chriſtian æra, and 600 at leaſt after the death of Jupiter. Jupiter, by all that appears to me, was the firſt monarch, in the weſtern parts of the world, who received divine honours after death; and when ſuch revererce was paid to him, it was natural to deify his parents, Uranus and Saturn, and his other relations. Theſe all might be worſhiped by name in other countries, whilſt the Greeks had only the Cabiric myſteries: but ſtill it will be impoſſible to prove, that the Egyptians, Syrians, or even Aſſyrians, had any gods before theſe Titan deities. The miſts, that always envelop ſuch diſtant antiquity, exhibit the objects not only indiſtinctly, but larger than the life: and the guides, who are to conduct us through them, are neither infallible, nor overfaithful. If they have in ſome caſes brought down gods and heroes, lower than their proper time, they have in others ſet them as much too high; and this often repreſents the objects double to us: but upon a nearer approach, they will appear to be one and the ſame. I can find no arguments to perſwade me, that Jupiter Belus of Babylon, or Jupiter Ammon of Libya, were

Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Δευκαλίων ἐβασίλευσε Θεσσαλίας, Ἑλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῳ Δευκαλιωνίας φησὶν, καὶ ὅτι Δώδεκα Θεῶν βώμους Δευκαλίων ἱδρύσατο, Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φησι συγγράμματι. Scholiaſt. in locum.

older

older than the Grecian Jupiter: much less can I think that both of them came originally from (1) Egypt. Jupiter, as well as Uranus before him, is said to have (2) reigned over all the world; which at this time we think too much to be believed. But if we can prevail with ourselves, to think, that he governed a large empire, extending from the borders of India westward as far as Egypt; and consisting of territories on both sides of the Caspian, Euxine, and Mediterranean seas, such an empire as Tamerlane in later times possessed; this might be all the world then known to the Greeks; and at the same time may account for the worship of Jupiter in so many distant countries. Later historians use the same hyperbole in speaking of Alexander and Tamerlane, *Who conquered the whole world*, and the case is exactly parallel in the latter instance; for it is certain that Tamerlane was master of this very empire of Jupiter, in more than it's full extent: there being then no power able to controul him.

The Egyptian Antiquities and Deities.

Egypt made but a small part of this empire, and can no more be believed to be the birthplace of the gods, than that Jupiter reigned over the whole world. (3) Menes, or Menas, was the first mortal king of Egypt,

(1) Καθάπερ καὶ Ἄμμων ἐν Λιβύῃ, καὶ ὁ ἐν Βαβυλῶνί Βῆλος· ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου Βήλου τοῦ Λιβύης ὄνομα ἔσχεν, Ἄμμων δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου προμάντεως. Pausan. Messeniac. p. 261. Ed. Sylb.

(2) Οὐρανὸν βασιλεῦσαι — κατακτήσασθαι δ' αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης πλείστην. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 133. Τὸν Δία φασὶ βασιλεῦσαι τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, κεχολασμένων τῶν Τιτάνων. Idem. p. 145.

(3) Βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγον Μῆνα. Herod. Lib. 2. c. 4. Μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοίνυν πρῶτον φασὶ βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μενᾶν. Diodor. Lib. 1.

who

who reigned after the gods, and therefore muſt be the ſame with Oſiris: and we may allow him the ſame antiquity, as (1) Phoroneus, or Ogyges, in Greece. Oſiris bore the names of ſeveral gods, but of none ſo old as Saturn. (2) "Some called him Serapis, Bacchus, Pluto, "Ammon, Jupiter, and ſome took him to be Pan." The (3) inſcriptions, quoted by Diodorus from other authors, on the pillars at Nyſa in Arabia, pretended that he, and Iſis, were ſon and daughter of Saturn; which I think ſhews that they could carry his genealogy no higher. Vulcan is properly the oldeſt deity of Egypt; a (4) temple being built to him by the firſt mortal king Menes. Vulcan was one of the twelve great gods, contemporary with Jupiter; and therefore I think it loſt labour to ſeek for him any further. Mercury, one of the twelve gods, is another of their oldeſt deities; and we have already hinted, that he had the adminiſtration of affairs after Jupiter's deceaſe. By his titles of Meſſenger, Herald, Embaſſadour, and interpreter to the gods, he ſeems to have held the office of Viceroy, Lieutenant, or Prime Miniſter, under Jupiter; or, as the Ægyptians

(1) *Anticlides in Ægypto inveniſſe quendam nomine* Menona *tradit, quindecim annis ante Phoroneum antiquiſſimum Græciæ regem, idque monumentis adprobare conatur.* Plin. Lib. 7. c. 56.

(2) Τὴν Οσιριν οἱ μὲν Σάραπιν, οἱ δὲ Διόνυσον, οἱ δὲ Πλούτωνα, οἱ δὲ Ἄμμωνα, τινὲς δὲ Δία, πολλοὶ δὲ Πᾶνα νενομίκασι. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 15.

(3) ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Η ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΡΟΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΤΗ. Iſis.

ΠΑΤΗΡ ΜΕΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΜΟΙ ΚΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΕΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ. Oſiris. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 16.

(4) Ὡς δὲ τῷ Μηνὶ τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλεῖ —— τοῦτο δὲ τὸ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐὸν μέγα καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατον. Herodot. Lib. 9. c. 99.

called

called him, "was (1) Secretary, and Privy Counſellour "of Oſiris." From all this I conclude, that the Egyptian gods were of the Titan race, and had no greater claim to antiquity than the Greeks: and that when authors ſpeak of the gods being derived from Egypt, they are to be underſtood of that train of ceremonies, that always attended the religious worſhip of the Egyptians: and theſe, we acknowledge, (2) came from Egypt, and I think can be no older than the time of Cecrops, who was contemporary with Deucalion. Thoſe who penetrate, further than I am able, into the Egyptian theology; may perhaps aſſert that theſe Titan gods were not the primitive gods of the country, but the natives had ſeveral more ancient, as Ophion, Cneph, Ptha, Neith, Athyr, Bubaſtis, &c. But moſt of theſe are (3) known to be Egyptian names for the Grecian gods; and when their antiquity ſhall be clearly made out, it will be time to ſpeak of the others, if there are any.

The Phenician Antiquities and Deities.

The Phenician antiquities are old traditions and fables, collected into a ſort of hiſtory, as it is ſaid, by (4) Sanchoniathon. It ſeems to be wrote at a time, when nations vyed with each other about their antiquities; and with deſign to give the preference to Phenicia

(1) Τιμᾶσθαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [Oſiride] μάλιστα πάντων τὸν Ερμῆν — καθόλε δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν, Ὄσιριν τέτον ἔχοντας Ιερογραμματέα, ἅπαντ' αὐτῷ προσπανακοινῶσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα χρῆσθαι τῇ τότε Συμβελίᾳ. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 10.

(2) Παντηύειας δὲ ἄρα, καὶ πομπὰς, καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αιγύπλιοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι, ἐκ τέτων Ελλησι μεμαθήκασι. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 58.

(3) Vid. Jablonſky Pantheon Ægypt. 3 Vol. 8°. Francof. ad Viadrum. 1750.

(4) Vid. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. c. 9.

before

before Egypt. It begins with the formation of the world; and not to be behind hand with the Egyptians, makes the firſt gods and men natives of Phenicia; which is enough to deſtroy the credit of the whole. Uranus and Saturn are ſaid to be gods of Phenicia; and the depoſition, and death, of the former is related with all its circumſtances, as in the Greek hiſtory. It mentions likewiſe the parents of Uranus and Titæa, viz. Eliun and (1) Beryth, a point of hiſtory that the Greeks were entirely unacquainted with; and whether true or falſe is not very material; nothing more being ſaid of Eliun, than that he was contemporary with the Cabiri, was ſlain by wild beaſts, and afterwards deified. Saturn has the greateſt ſhare in the hiſtory; and is repreſented as a potent king who reigned in Phenicia; built cities there; diſpoſed of other kingdoms and countries; and among the reſt gave Attica to his daughter Minerva. How this laſt article came into the Phenician hiſtory, may be queſtioned; it ſeems to me to come from the Greeks. Saturn had Hermes Triſmegiſtus, or Taaut, for his ſecretary, and appointed him to be king of Egypt; which muſt be a great mortification to the Egyptians, if they could believe it. The author mentions the Titans and Cabiri, but ſo confuſedly and ſuperficially, that it is plain, he knew nothing more of them than their bare names. It

(1) Κατὰ τέτους [Cabiros] γίνεταί τις Ελιοῦν καλούμενος Ὑψιστος, καὶ θήλεια λεγομένη Βηρὺτ, οἱ καὶ κατῴκουν περὶ Βύβλον. Sanchoniathon apud Euſeb. There can be no doubt, but that by *Berout*, or *Beryth*, here is meant the great deity of Berytus, called *Baal Beryth*. Judges, c. 8. v. 33. and that the author intended to ſhew, that the Grecian gods were deſcended from the Phenician.

is remarkable, that in all this history no mention is made of Bacchus; whether out of design, or ignorance, is uncertain.

Bacchus a name common to several gods.

In treating the history of a person, the first thing to be enquired, is at what time he lived: and this, in the case of a god or hero, is not to be discovered but with the utmost difficulty. We are told that (1) "The Pelasgians had not heard of Bacchus, "till long after they received the names of the gods from "Egypt. (2) Melampus son of Amytheon being the first, "who brought from thence his name and sacred rites "into Greece," according to Herodotus. All that we infer from hence, is that the Greeks had gods before Bacchus. The poets were our first historians, and their employment was to disguise the truth: and one of the methods they took, was to create gods, and heroes, at their pleasure. Tully mentions no less than Five, who went by the name of Bacchus. (3) *Dionysos multos habemus: Primum e Jove & Proserpina natum: Secundum Nilo, qui Nysam dicitur interemisse: Tertium Caprio patre, eumque regem Asiæ præfuisse dicunt, cui Sabazia sunt in-*

(1) — Επειτα ὦ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ὕστερα ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αιγύπτου ἀπηγμένα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων· Διονύσου ὦ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐπύθοντο. Herod. Lib. 2. c. 52.

(2) Ελλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τ' ὄνομα, καὶ τὴν θυσίην, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ. Idem. c. 49. Yet he seems to think, that Melampus received his instructions from Cadmus, and the Phenicians settled in Bœotia. Πυθέσθαι ὦ μοὶ δοκέει μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τοῦ Τυρίου, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώρην. Id. Ibid. But it is more probable that Bacchus was brought from Egypt, as will be seen afterwards; and this shews how ignorant the Greeks were of the countries from whence their gods came.

(3) Cicero De Nat. Deorum. Lib. 3. c. 23.

stituta:

ſtituta: Quartum Jove & Luna, cui ſacra Orphica putantur confici: Quintum Niſo natum & Thione, a quo Trieterides conſtitutæ putantur. The Firſt, the ſon of Jupiter and Proſerpine, was ſurnamed Zagreus; he was killed, and (1) torn to pieces, by the Titans. The Second, ſon of Nilus, ſeems to be the Egyptian Oſiris: tho' why he is ſaid to have killed Nyſa, I cannot conjecture; I find a (2) female warriour of that name, who fought under Bacchus, and another who was his nurſe, neither of them likely to be ſlain by him: I therefore ſuſpect an (3) errour in the text. The Third, the ſon of Caprius, ſeems to be the great conquerour of Aſia: but I never met with his father's name in any other author. The Fourth, ſon of Jupiter and Luna, to whom the Orphic rites were dedicated, by others is called the ſon of Ceres, (4) who is ſometimes taken for the moon. The Fifth, ſon of Niſus and (5) Thione, who inſtituted the Triennial feſtivals, *Trieterica*, is the Theban Bacchus, the ſon of Semele, ſo famous among the Greeks. Diodorus mentions two more, One the ſon of Jupiter and Io daughter of Inachus, who was probably the Egyptian

(1) Διόνυσον γὰρ, ὃν τὲ Ζαγρέα καλέμενον, ὑὸν Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης ὑπάρχοντα, μελησὸν οἱ Τιτᾶνες ἐσπάραξαν· ἔ τὴν καρδίαν ἔπι παλλομένην [Minerva] ἀγήνεγκεν. Tzetz. Alleg.

(2) ΝΥΣΗΣ δ' ἕλκος ἔθρεψε νεοτήτοιο προσώπου,
Ελκεϊ φοινήεντι ῥοδοβρώτοιο πόμα λυσᾶ,
Χείρας ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα παρηϊδος λευκὰδι γύψῳ. Nonnus Dionyſ. Lib. 29. v. 272.

(3) Bacchus is ſaid to have built a city called Nyſa; and perhaps Tully wrote, *Qui Nyſam dicitur inſtruxiſſe.*

(4) *Virgilius ſciens Liberum Patrem Solem eſſe, & Cererem Lunam.* Macrob. Sat. Lib. 1. c. 18.

(5) Bacchus made his mother a goddeſs, and called her Thyone, ὁ δὲ ἀναγαγὼν ἐξ ἅδου τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσαγορεύσας Θυώνην, μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνῆλθε. Apollod. Bib. Lib. 3. c. 5.

Bacchus: the other, ſon of Ammon and Amalthea, of whom we ſhall ſpeak largely hereafter. Notwithſtanding theſe different genealogies, one and the ſame god is to be underſtood by all: or to ſpeak more diſtinctly, they were all branches from one common ſtock.

Of the age of Bacchus.

Here we are left, as uſual, without any marks of time to diſtinguiſh theſe gods; and I fear, ſhall never be able to fix the age of the moſt ancient: however it may be proper to proceed, as far as we can, towards it. It will be neceſſary to ſtate ſome point of time, from whence we may compute; and let it be the vulgar Chriſtian æra, or A. V. C. 752. That we may gradually aſcend higher, we muſt raiſe from this a few ſubſidiary æras, that are pretty nearly agreed upon among the learned, and which the materials, we are to work upon, require. The reader therefore muſt carry along with him,

	Before Chriſt.
The reign of Amaſis in Egypt ——	570.
Herodotus the father of Hiſtory —	450.
The reign of Alexander the Great —	330.

To begin with the Egyptian accounts of time. The prieſts informed (1) Herodotus, "That Bacchus lived "15,000 years before the reign of Amaſis." Theſe reduced to years of (2) Twelve months each, may make

(1) Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τέτων· ᾧ τότῳ Πεντακισχίλια ᾧ Μύρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἄμασιν Βασιλέα. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 145.

(2) The Egyptians, according to Eudoxus, called a monthly revolution a year. Εἰ δ' ᾧ ὅ φησιν Εὔδοξος ἀληθὲς, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν Μῆνα Ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάλεν. Proclus in Plat. Timæum. Lib. 1. *Ait enim* [Varro] *apud Ægyptios pro Annis Menſes haberi.* Lactant. De Falſ. Rel. Lib. 2. c. 12.

about

about 1250, and with the time of Amaſis 1820. But Herodotus, giving his opinion of the Grecian gods, (1) ſays "From Bacchus ſon of Semele to his own time, were "1600 years," which will make 2050. This indeed goes vaſtly beyond the time of Cadmus and Semele; and therefore we muſt either ſuppoſe, that there is an errour in the text of Herodotus; or that he confounded the Theban Bacchus, with the Egyptian. Diodorus (2) ſays, "According to ſome accounts, Oſiris, or the Egyp- "tian Bacchus, lived 23,000 years before Alexander." Theſe reduced, as before, make about 1917, and with the time of Alexander 2247. But the Egyptians, as (3) Sir Iſaac Newton rightly obſerves, by feigning new kings and reigns, had raiſed their antiquities ſome hundreds of years, between the times of Herodotus and Diodorus. Arrian in his Indian hiſtory (4) ſays "The In- "dians reckoned from Bacchus to Sandrocottus, who "lived in the time of Alexander, 153 kings, who reign- "ed 6042 years." This exceeds all belief, and is inconſiſtent with all accounts of time both ſacred and profane. According to Sir Iſaac Newton's method of computation,

(1) Διονύσῳ μὲν νῦν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμε λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατ' Ἐξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἔστι ἐς ἐμέ. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 145. I am ſcrupulous in altering a word that has paſſed unmoleſted thro' moſt, if not all, the editions of Herodotus; however the learned Lydiat has done it for me, by reading *Sixty*, inſtead of *Six Hundred*. *Ubi nullum eſt dubium, quin pro* Ἑξακόσια *legendum ſit* Ἑξήκοντα, *pro Sexcenti, inquam, Sexaginta.* Not. ad Chron. Marm. p. 25. Ed. Prid. This brings it nearly to the time of Semele.

(2) Εἶναι δ' ἔτη φασὶν ἀπὸ Οσιριδος ἕως τῆς Αλεξάνδρε βασιλείας πλείω τῶν Μυρίων· ὡς δ' ἔνιοι γράφουσι, βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν Δισμυρίων καὶ Τετρακοσίων. Diodor. Lib. 1. c. 23.

(3) See Introduction to his Chronology.

(4) Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Διονύσου βασιλέας ἠρίθμεον Ινδοὶ ἐς Ανδρόκοττον Τρεῖς καὶ Πεντήκοντα καὶ Ἑκατὸν ἔτεα καὶ Δύο καὶ Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Ἑξακισχίλια. Arrian. Indic. p. 173. Ed. Steph.

by

by twenty years to a reign, they will make 3060, which is extreamly improbable. But if we allow ten, or at most eleven, years to a reign, which I think sufficient in such a long succession of kings, supposing it to be exact, they will make 1683, and with the time of Alexander, 2013. From these different, and, it must be owned, uncertain accounts and calculations, it may seem that Bacchus flourished about 2000, or perhaps 2100, years, before the Christian Æra: but still I question, whether we are yet arrived to the age of the true Bacchus, or only to that of Osiris in Egypt.

Bacchus his actions prove him of great antiquity.

Though Bacchus was not one of the Twelve great gods, and therefore must be considered as a modern deity with the Greeks; yet his actions, being such as raised the first gods to that dignity, entitle him to very high antiquity. The history of (1) Uranus and (2) Saturn shews, that their business was not so much to conquer, as to civilize, mankind: by teaching them the knowledge of agriculture, laws, arts and sciences. Bacchus in the same manner, built cities, planted colonies, taught men to plough the land, and sow corn, to plant the vine, and to make wine of grapes,

(1) Οὐρανον βασιλεῦσαι καὶ τὰς ἀνθρώπους ἀπραξίαν οἰκοῦντας συναγαγεῖν εἰς πόλεως σχεῖβολον, καὶ τῆς μὲ ἀνομίας καὶ τῆ θηριώδους βίᾳ παῦσαι τὰς ὑπακόοντας, εὑρόντα τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν χρείας καὶ σποράδεσεις, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρησίμων οὐκ ὀλίγα. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 133.

(2) Τὸν μὲ ἕν Κρόνον ὄντα πρεσβύτατον, βασιλέα γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ἐξ ἀγρίου ἡμέρους μεταθῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τῦτο δόξης μεγάλης τυχόντα πολλοὺς ἐπελθεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης τόπους, εἰσηγήσασθαι δ' αὐτὸν ἅπασι τῶ τε δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τῶ ἁπλότητα τ ψυχῆς· διὸ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Κρόνε γενομένας ἀνθρώπους σέβεσθαι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις ἐνίοθεις καὶ ἀκάκους παντελῶς, ἔτι δ' εὐδαίμονας γεγονότας. Diod. Lib. 5. p. 231.

where

where the land would bear them, and of barley, where it would not; he likewiſe inſtituted feſtivals, and dancing, &c. all this muſt be done with a view to poliſh the roughneſs of ſavage life, and (1) this after death entitled him to divine honours. The firſt heroes of Greece, as (2) Hercules and Theſeus, who took the gods for their patterns, are ſaid to have went through the world, only to do good to their fellow creatures; to relieve the oppreſſed, by rooting out monſters, tyrants, robbers, and all the peſts of civil ſociety. Such actions could not but be remembered with gratitude, and propoſed as examples to poſterity; to ſhew that beneficence alone conſtituted the true character of an heroe. How amiable is this character, and how different from that romantic valour, and luſt of dominion, by which Alexander made his way to divinity!

The worſhip of the heathen gods ſpread thro' all countries.

Thoſe who are verſed in profane hiſtory, know very well, that when men were once advanced to the ſtate of gods, their fame naturally diffuſed itſelf far and wide through many diſtant nations; who beſides paying them divine worſhip, and celebrating their exploits, came at length to entertain an opinion, that the Gods were born in their ſeveral countries; and afterwards feigned monuments and memorials of them, to ſupport their pretenſions. The Ara-

(1) Ομοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὑρημάτων μεταδιδόντα πᾶσι, τυχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μετάσασιν ἀθανάτου τιμῆς ἄξια τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσιν. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 139.

(2) Ἡρακλῆς μὲν γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται, πάντα τὸν γενόμενον αὐτῷ κατ' ἀνθρώπους χρόνον ὑπομεῖναι μεγάλους καὶ συνεχεῖς πόνους καὶ κινδύνους, ἑκουσίως, ἵνα τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργετήσας τύχῃ τῆς ἀθανασίας. Diod. Lib. 1. p. 2.

bians

bians worshiped only (1) Uranus and Bacchus, laying no claim, that we know of, to the birth of the former; but either they, or the Egyptians for them, affirmed that Bacchus was born at Nysa in Arabia Felix, From hence the Egyptians received him, and made him their (2) Osiris and Sesostris, whom they celebrated, as the greatest of conquerors. To Egypt then we are to ascribe that multitude of fables, relating to the expeditions of Bacchus; of his leading an army from one end of the world to the other; through India, Arabia, Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya; to which we may add Thrace; tho' that seems to be an addition of the Greek poets, it lying too much out of the other road.

Alexander a rival of Bacchus.

Alexander came many ages after the gods, and yet affected to be thought of their number. Making allowance for his faults and foibles, he was certainly possessed of many shining qualities, and worthy of an heroe. His thirst after knowledge encouraged the Greeks of his time, to make very useful discoveries in many arts and sciences: and I question whether we should have known any thing at all of the true history of Bacchus, if this Grecian hero had not been fired with an emula-

(1) Λέγος δὲ κατέχει, ὅτι ἥκειν [Alexander] Ἄραβας μόνον τιμᾶν θεὸς, τ Ουρανον τε καὶ τ Διόνυσιν. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. 7. Herodotus makes Uranus a female deity, calling him Urania. Διόνυσον δ θεὸν μοῦνον, καὶ τ Ουρανίην ἡγέονται εἶναι — ὀνομάζεσι δ τ μὲν Διόνυσον Ουροτάλτ τ δὲ Ουρανίω Αλιλάτ. Herod. Lib. 3. §. 8.

(2) Θεὸς γὰρ δὴ ὁ τοὺς αὐτὸς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αιγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἶσίος τε καὶ Οσίριδος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγεσι. Herod. Lib. 2. §. 42. Αιγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεὸν Ὄσιριν ὀνομαζόμενον φασιν εἶναι τὸν παρ' Ἕλλησι Διόνυσον καλούμενον. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 174. Γενέσθαι δ καὶ φιλογεωργὸν τ Ὄσιριν, [Dionysum] καὶ τραφῆναι μὲν τῆς Ευδαίμονος Αραβίας ἐν Νύσῃ πλησίον Αιγύπτου. Idem. Lib. 1.

tion

tion of equalling his exploits. Whoever has read the hiſtory of Alexander, muſt know that he made it a point to tread in the ſteps of Bacchus; and therefore I think he is the ſureſt guide we can follow at this diſtance. He probably collected all that was remembered of Bacchus's hiſtory; and ſeems to direct us to the true courſe of his expedition, by puſhing his own arms into India.

The firſt, or Indian, Bacchus.

Diodorus in his ſecond book has given us a deſcription of India, and (1) "Thought it proper to give an "abſtract of what the moſt learned among the Indians "had related of their antiquities. They ſay, that in the "moſt ancient times, when their people lived only in "villages, Bacchus came from the weſtern parts with a

(1) Μυθολογῶσι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ινδοῖς οἱ λογιώτατοι, περὶ ὧν καθήκον ἂν εἴη συντόμως διελθεῖν· Φασὶ γὰρ, ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις χρόνοις, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔτι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κωμηδὸν οἰκέντων, παραγενέσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέραν τόπων, ἔχοντα δυνάμιν ἀξιόλογον· ἐπελθεῖν δὲ τὴν Ινδικὴν ἅπασαν. μηδεμιᾶς ὄσης ἀξιολόγου πόλεως τῆς δυναμένης ἀντιτάξασθαι· ὀπτηνουμένων δὲ καυμάτων μεγάλων, καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου στρατιωτῶν λοιμικῇ νόσῳ διαφθειρομένων, συμβῆναι διαφέροντα τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦτον ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν πεδινῶν τόπων εἰς τὰ ὀρεινά. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πνεόντων ψυχρῶν ἀνέμων, καὶ τῶν ναμάτων καθαρῶν ῥεόντων πρὸς αὐτοῖς ταῖς πηγαῖς, ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς νόσου τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ τῆς ὀρεινῆς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον Μηρόν, καθ' ὃν ὁ Διόνυσος ἐξέτρεψε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς νόσου. ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ τοὺς Ελληνας περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τότε διαδεδωκέναι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις, πεπεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον ἐκ μηροῦ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς εὐδαίμονος τῶν καρπῶν ὀπώρας ἐπιτελουμένης, μεταδιδόναι τοῖς Ινδοῖς, καὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν τοῦ οἴνου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον χρησίμων παραδοῦναι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, πόλεων τε ἀξιολόγων γεννῆσαι κτίσιν, μεταγαγόντα τὰς κώμας εἰς τοὺς εὐδαίτους τόπους, τιμᾶν τε καταδεῖξαι τὸ θεῖον, καὶ νόμους εἰσηγήσασθαι καὶ δικαστήρια· καθόλου δὲ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον, θεὸν νομισθῆναι, καὶ τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν. ἱστοροῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ γυναικῶν πλῆθος μετὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου περιάγεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις παρατάξεις τυμπάνοις καὶ κυμβάλοις κεχρῆσθαι, μήπω σαλπίγγος εὑρημένης. βασιλεύσαντα δὲ πάσης τῆς Ινδικῆς ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα μῆκος τελευτῆσαι. διαδεξαμένους δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἡγεμονίαν, ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον καταλυθείσης τῆς ἡγεμονίας, δημοκρατηθῆναι τὰς πόλεις. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ τὴν ὀρεινὴν τῆς Ινδικῆς κατοικοῦντες. Diodor. Lib. 2. p. 87.

" great force, and invaded all India; there being no con-
" ſiderable city able to withſtand him. But by reaſon of
" the great heats his ſoldiers died of a peſtilential diſtem-
" per, till that prudent general led his troops from the
" plains to the mountains; where the blaſts of the cool
" winds, and pure waters flowing from the fountain
" head, relieved the army from the plague. The place
" where Bacchus refreſhed his forces was called (1) *Me-*
" *ros*, from whence the Greeks feigned the ſtory of his
" being nouriſhed in a *Thigh*. After this applying him-
" ſelf to the huſbanding of fruits, he communicated his
" knowledge to the Indians; and taught them the inven-
" tion of wine, and other things uſeful to life. Beſides
" this, he was the founder of many great cities, draw-
" ing the inhabitants of the villages to places more com-
" modiouſly ſituated: he taught them likewiſe religion,
" inſtituted laws, and courts of juſtice: and after many
" famous actions was eſteemed a god, and received di-
" vine honours. They report likewiſe, that he led a
" body of women with him in his army; that in battle
" he uſed drums and cymbals, the trumpet being not
" yet invented. After he had reigned over all India fifty
" two years, he died of old age; his ſons taking the go-
" vernment upon them, and leaving it to their ſons; till
" after many ages, the kingly government being aboliſh-
" ed, the cities were ruled by a democracy. Theſe are

(1) *Urbium quas incolunt, Nyſa eſt clariſſima & maxima; Montium Meros, Jovi Sacer; Famam hinc præcipuam habent, in illa genitum, in hujus ſpecu Liberum arbitrantur eſſe nutritum: unde Græcis autoribus, ut Femori Jovis inſitum dicerent, aut materia ingeſſit aut error.* Pompon. Mela. Lib. 2. c. 11.

" the

"the things reported of Bacchus, and his poſterity, by "the inhabitants of the mountainous parts of India." To which I muſt add, that the mountaineers were the moſt likely perſons to preſerve the tradition in its greateſt purity: and though I will not vouch for the truth of every particular in this relation, yet look upon it, as the beſt, and moſt authentic account of Bacchus's actions. All others, whether Arabian, Egyptian, African, or Greek, ſo far as they agree with this, may with my conſent be inſerted into the hiſtory of Bacchus; and where they differ from it, ought to be rejected, as merely fabulous, and without any hiſtorical foundation.

Why Bacchus is ſaid to have conquered the world.

The ſame hiſtorian in his third book ſays, (1) "Some affirmed "that there was only one Bac- "chus, others that there were "three — They ſuppoſe that theſe three lived at diffe- "rent times, and aſcribe their proper actions to each. "They ſay that the oldeſt was born in India, which coun- "try by it's fertility ſpontaneouſly produces vines in a- "bundance: there he firſt found out the way of preſſing "the grapes, and making wine. — This was the Bac- "chus, who marched through the whole world with an "army, and taught the planting of vines." He likewiſe

(1) Ἔνιοι μὲν γὰρ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνονται γενέσθαι — ἔνιοι δ', καθάπερ προείπον, τρεῖς ὑποστησάμενοι γεγονέναι χρόνῳ διεστηκότας χρόνους, ἑκάστῳ προστάξασιν ἰδίας πράξεις, ὧν φασὶ, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαιότατον Ινδὸν γεγονέναι, καὶ τὴν χώρας αὐτομάτως διὰ τὴν εὐκρασίαν φερούσης πολλὴν ἄμπελον, πρῶτον τὸν τῶν ἀπολίπαι βότρυας, καὶ τὴν χρείαν τῆς πρὸς τὸν οἶνον φύσεως ἐπινοῆσαι. — Τὸν δ' ὃν Διόνυσιν ἐπελθόντα μετὰ στρατοπέδου πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, διδάξαι τὴν τε φυτείαν τῆς ἀμπέλου. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 138, 139.

ſays (1) "This god left ſo many tokens of his benefi-
"cence, and of his preſence in ſo many parts of the
"world; that no wonder every one thinks that his town
"and country has ſome relation to Bacchus." That Bacchus went thro' the whole world with an army of men and women, was an opinion univerſally propagated; tho' it carries an abſurdity in the very face of it. He certainly came from another country, when he invaded the Indians; but their hiſtory gives not the leaſt intimation of his paſſing from thence to any other parts of the world. This then at firſt was only a fable of the Egyptians, neceſſary to ſtrengthen the ſtories of their Oſiris and Seſoſtris: and like other fables of the ſame kind muſt not be underſtood literally, if we would endeavour to make ſenſe of it. The hiſtorian perhaps may be of ſervice to us in this caſe: (2) "Some authors, ſays he, held that
"Bacchus never appeared in human ſhape; but that by
"this god was to be underſtood the invention and gift of
"wine." Let us then ſuppoſe, that wherever the uſe of wine prevailed, as it did thro' almoſt the whole world, thither the fame of Bacchus was carried; this, and nothing elſe, can account for his conquering the world with an army.

(1) Καθόλε δ' ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις τ̃ οἰκεμένης ἀπολελοιπότ@ τοῦ θεῦ σημεῖα τ̃ ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ἅμα τ̃ παρουσίας, ἐδὲν παράδοξον ἑκάστους νομίζειν οἰκειότητά πινα γεγονέναι πρ̃ Διονύσῳ πρὸ ἑαυτῶν πόλίν τ̃ τ̃ χώραν. Idem. Ibid.

(2) Εἶσι δ' οἱ γένεσιν μ̃ τότε ἀνθρωπόμορφον μὴ γεγονέναι τὸ πάλαι ἀπφαινόμενοι, τ̃ δ τ̃ οἴνε δόσιν Διόνυσον εἶναι νομίζοντες. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 137.

The

The Indian Bacchus probably a Scythian.

The Indian Bacchus being allowed to be the moſt ancient, is conſequently the true one; and we are to look upon all others, as fictitious and counterfeit. Here taking (1) Alexander for our guide, we come to mount Meros, not very far from the ſource of the Indus, and to the city of Nyſa, or Nyſſa, built by Bacchus. This then ſeems to be the beginning of his expedition, as near as the Greeks could come to the knowledge of it; but his firſt ſetting out was probably more northward, from the neighbouring Bactria, or (2) ſouthern Scythia; the country of the firſt, and greateſt, conquerors. I am the more inclined to this opinion, upon account of the women warriours in his army, called by the poets Bacchæ, Bacchides, or Amazons, whom I take to be Scythians: (3) "For in that nation the women, as well as the men, are "trained up to war, and in ſtrength and courage are not "inferiour to men." The great antiquity of the hiſtory of Uranus, and Bacchus, is another inducement to me to think, that they both led their ſwarms from the ſame mother country; which was large and populous enough to ſend out ſeveral numerous armies at the ſame time. The one went on conquering eaſtward, as the other weſtward; and which of the two began his progreſs firſt, is a queſtion that cannot eaſily be reſolved.

(1) Vide Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. Q. Curt. De Reb. Geſt. Alex. Lib. 8. c. 32, 33.

(2) Ινδὸν παρ᾽ ποταμὸν Νόπιον Σκύθαι ἐνναίουσιν. Dionyſius Perieg. v. 1088.

(3) Εν τέτοις γὰρ ἔθνεσι [Scythis] γυμνάζονται πρὸς πόλεμον γυναῖκες ὁμοπλησίως ἀνδράσι, καὶ ταῖς ἀνδρείαις οὐδὲν λείπονται τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Diodor. Lib. 2. p. 90.

From

Alexander pursued the track of Bacchus.

From Nysa then in India, and from mount Meros, lying northward from thence, begins the history of the true Bacchus. It must have been a commonly received opinion that Bacchus (1) built this city, when he invaded India. And if the Indians thought that he was born there, it was owing to the fondness which they had for their god: for this was the common foible of all nations. Arrian (2) says "The Nysæans were "not native Indians, but a colony of Greeks left there "by Bacchus:" and this, I doubt not, was reported, and believed, by the Greeks. Arrian here complied with the vulgar tradition of his countrymen, concerning their Bacchus; but seems not to give much credit to it; for he had said in another place, (3) "Who this Bacchus "was, or from whence he came, or at what time, I am "not able to conjecture:" and presently after, "We "ought not to be too nicely inquisitive into the ancient "fables of the Gods." Nysa lies between the rivers Cophes on the west, and Indus on the east; other rivers, as Hydaspes, Hydraotes, Acesines, which fall into the Indus, lie still more eastward. Alexander passed all these rivers with his army, till he came to the (4) Hypanis, or

(1) Διόνυσον ὃ κλίσαι τὴν Νύσαν, ἀφ' ἧς τε Ινδὸς ἐχειρώσατο. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. V. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων Νυσαίους δή τινας ἔθνος προσωνόμασαν, καὶ πόλιν παρ' αὐτοῖς Νύσαν Διονύσου κλίσμα, καὶ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Μηρόν. Strabo. Lib. 13. p. 689.

(2) Νυσαῖοι δὲ οὐκ Ινδικὸν γένος ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἅμα Διονύσῳ ἐληλυθότων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν Ινδῶν. Arrian. Indic.

(3) Ὅστις δὴ ἦν ὁ Διόνυσος, καὶ ὁπότε ἢ ὅθεν ἐπ' Ινδοὺς ἐστράτευσεν, ἃ γὼ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν. —Πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐξητασμὲν χρὴ εἶναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς θείης ἐκ παλαιοῦ μεμυθευμένων. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. V.

(4) Οτι ἡ πρόσω τοῦ Υφάσιος ἦλθεν Αλέξανδρος. Arrian. Indic. p. 170.

Hyphasis,

Hyphaſis, which was the utmoſt bounds of his conqueſts. Thus far, we may conclude, was the track of Bacchus: and we may preſume, that he went ſtill farther eaſtward, from that paſſionate exclamation of Alexander, when his ſoldiers refuſed to proceed further, (1) "That he ſhould owe them no thanks for what they "had hitherto done; but ſhould look upon himſelf as "defeated, if he was not permitted to paſs the Ganges:" For, beſides other tokens, that is a ſort of proof to me, that Bacchus's conqueſts extended beyond that river. And there I think we are to take our leave of him; it being impoſſible to follow him into a country unknown to the ancient European travellers.

Indian relations of Bacchus.

In India on this ſide the Ganges, we are aſſured, that he was worſhiped as a god. The inhabitants, it is ſaid had a tradition, that he was the (2) ſon of the river Indus; that he was born at Nyſa, and was bred up in a cave on mount Meros. When Alexander approached the city of Nyſa, the (3) Nyſeans ſent an embaſſy to him

(1) Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ὑπὸ δυσθυμίας καὶ ὀργῆς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν καθείρξας ἔκειτο, χάριν οὐδεμίαν εἰδὼς τοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις εἰ μὴ περάσειεν τὸν Γάγγην, ἀλλ' ἐξομολόγησιν ἥττης τιθέμενος τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Vid. etiam Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. 5. Near the Ganges was a place called the *Sacred Nyſean Way*, in memory of Bacchus.

Ἔστι δέ τις θνητὸς ἐϋῤῥείτην παρὰ Γάγγην
Χῶρος τιμήεις τε καὶ ἱερός, ὅν ποτε Βάχχος
Θυμαίνων ἐπάτησεν ———
Τοὔνεκα Νυσαίην μὲν ἐφημίξαντο κέλευθον. Dionyſ. Perig. v. 1152, 1159.

(2) Οἱ δὲ τὴν Ινδοῦ καὶ Υδραώτου μέσην νεμόμενοι, καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤπειρον, ἡ δὲ ἐς ποταμὸν Γάγγην τελευτᾷ, Διόνυσον γενέσθαι ποταμοῦ παῖδα Ινδοῦ λέγουσιν. Philoſtrat. Vita Apollon. Lib. 2. c. 9.

(3) Ὦ βασιλεῦ, δέονταί σου Νυσαῖοι, ἐάσαι σφᾶς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους, αἰδοῖ τοῦ Διονύσου. Arrian. Exp. Alexand. Lib. V.

praying

praying that he would continue to them their ancient liberties, laws, and customs, received from Bacchus, which he confirmed. Other nations, as the (1) Oxydracæ in particular, boasted that they were descended from him. And in general it is said, that (2) "The Indians "shew to this day the place where he was born; that "many cities were called by his name in their own lan- "guage; and that there are many other remarkable to- "kens of his being born in India, which it would be te- "dious to mention." Megasthenes who lived some time after Alexander, and under Seleucus, went to the court of Sandrocottus a powerful king of India on this side the Ganges, and to that of Porus a much greater. From Sandrocottus he learnt the beforementioned long succession of Indian kings, and says that, (3) "When Bacchus "left India, he appointed Spartembas, one of his friends "to succeed him, who reigned fifty two years; [which "I must observe is the very term of Bacchus's reign] Bu- "dyas his son succeeded; reigned twenty years, and left "the kingdom to his son Cradevas; and so the govern- "ment descended for many ages from father to son." This succession probably came in a right line from the true Bacchus: but his leaving India, must be esteemed fabu-

(1) Διονύσου δ' ἀπογόνους τοὺς Ὀξυδρακας. Strab. Lib. 15. p. 687. Ὀξυδράκαι δὲ, ὡς τὸ Διονύσῳ συγγενεῖς ἔφαμεν μεμυθεῦσθαι. Idem. p. 701.

(2) Δείκνυσθαι ὑπὸ παρ' Ινδοῖς μέχρι τῶν νῦν τον τε τόπον, ἐν ᾧ σωθῆναι γενέσθαι τὸν θεὸν, καὶ περσηγορίας πόλεων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἐγχωρίων ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἀφορμὴν παρέχεσθαι τεκμήρια τοῦ παρ' Ινδοῖς γενέσεως, οὓς ὧν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 139.

(3) Ἀπογόνους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ινδῶν χώρης Σπαρτέμβαν τῶν ἑταίρων ἕνα βασιλεύσαντα· τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σπαρτέμβα, τὸν βασιλεύσαντα ἐκδέξασθαι Βυδύαν τὸν τέτου παῖδα· καὶ τὸν μὲν πεντήκοντα καὶ δύο βασιλεῦσαι τὸ πατέρα· τὸν δὲ παῖδα εἴκοσιν ἔτεα· καὶ τέτου παῖδα ἐκδέξασθαι τὸν βασιλεύσαντα Κραδεύαν. Arrian Indic.

lous;

lous; as no way agreeing with the genuine account of the Indians.

The actions of the true Bacchus unknown to the Greeks.

We muſt be content to be ignorant of the greateſt part of Bacchus's actions; becauſe we know not for certain from whence he came at firſt; and his exploits were performed in a country (1) unknown to the Greeks, till the time of Alexander, and then but very imperfectly; their knowledge of it ſcarce reaching beyond the Indus, and thoſe rivers that flow into it. Strabo ſays, (2) "We ought to "make allowance for what is related of the Indies, be- "cauſe it is a country ſo far diſtant; and few of our "people have ſeen it; and thoſe who have ſeen it, have "only ſeen ſome parts of it; and they ſpeak moſtly up- "on hearſay; and what they ſaw, they ſaw only in a "tranſient view; for which reaſon they diſagree in rela- "ting the ſame things, tho' they ſeem to deliver them "upon mature enquiry. Some of theſe were ſoldiers in "the ſame expedition; as thoſe who aſſiſted Alexander

(1) Ει τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφεὶς τις τὰ περὶ τ' Αλεξάνδρου στρατείας ὁπόσ' ἐπολέπει μνήμης, πολὺ ἂν εὕροι τούτων τυφλότερα. Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 686. Τὰ μὲν περὶς μεσημβρίαν, καὶ τὰ Πάτταλά τε καὶ τὰ Ινδοῦ ἐκβολὰς, ὥφθη περός τε Αλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων, καὶ πολλῶν Ελλήνων· τὰ δὲ πρὸς Ἕω Αλέξανδρος μὲν οὐκ ἐπῆλθε, τὰ δ' πρόσω ποταμοῦ Γάγγου· Ολίγοι δ' ἀνέζευξαν τὰ μέχρι ποταμοῦ Γάγγου, καὶ ἵνα τῶ Γάγγου αἱ ἐκβολαὶ, καὶ πόλις Παλίμβοθρα μεγίστη Ινδῶν περὶς τῷ Γάγγῃ. Arrian. Indic.

(2) Δεῖ δ' εὐγνωμόνως ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτῆς [India] καὶ γὰρ ἀπωτάτω ὄντι· καὶ ὁ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων κατώπτευσαν αὐτήν· οἱ δ' καὶ ἰδόντες μέρη τινὰ εἶδον· τὰ δ' πλείω λέγουσιν ἐξ ἀκοῆς· καὶ ἃ εἶδον δὲ ἐν παρόδῳ κατέμαθον· διόπερ ὁδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑξαγγέλλουσι· καὶ ταῦτα συγχάπαντες, ὡς ἂν περιπεπτωκότας ἐξητασμένα· πῆς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ συστρατεύσαντες ἀλλήλοις, καὶ σωπεπδημήκασιν, καθάπερ οἱ Αλεξάνδρῳ συγκαταστρεψάμενοι τὴν Ασίαν· ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἑκάστοτε ἀναντία λέγει πολλάκις· Ὅπου δ' περὶ τ' ἐρημότερων ἔτι διαφέρονται, τί δεῖ νομίζειν περὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀκοῆς; Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 685.

"in the conqueſt of Aſia; and yet they frequently con-"tradict each other. Now, if they differ ſo much about "things which they were eyewitneſſes to; what muſt we "think of thoſe things, which they relate only upon "hearſay?"

Fabulous ſtories of Bacchus not to be imputed to the Indians.

Megaſthenes (1) "Bids us "not give credit to the an-"cient ſtories of the Indians; "for neither did the Indians "ever ſend out an army from their country, nor did any "army from another country ever enter and conquer In-"dia; beſides that which came with Hercules, and with "Bacchus, and this of the Macedonians." By the armies that entered India, I ſuppoſe, he meant thoſe under Semiramis and Cyrus, both which accounts (2) Strabo treats as fabulous. By the armies that went out of India, I think, he muſt allude to Bacchus's traverſing the greateſt part of the known world with an Indian army: but he could not mean to charge the Indians with theſe reports. They no doubt boaſted of many great matters performed by Bacchus in their own country, to which they might add many more that were never performed: but they are not accountable for any extraneous fables. Megaſthenes's charge then reſts upon the Arabian, Egyptian, and Grecian poets, and hiſtorians. It was but juſtice in them,

(1) Συναποφαίνεται δέ πως καὶ Μεγασθένης τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, κελεύων ἀπιστεῖν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις περὶ Ινδῶν ἱστορίαις· οὔτε γὰρ παρ' Ινδῶν ἔξω σταλῆναί ποτε στρατιὰν, οὔτ' ἐπελθεῖν ἔξωθεν καὶ κρατῆσαι, πλὴν τῆς μεθ' Ηρακλέους καὶ Διονύσου, καὶ τῆς νῦν μετὰ Μακεδόνων. Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 686.

(2) Ημῖν δὲ τὶς ἂν δικαία γένοιτο πίστις περὶ τῶν Ινδικῶν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης στρατείας τοῦ Κύρου, ἢ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος; Strabo. Lib. 15.

when

when, they had led their heroes ſo far as the Indies, to bring them back again, and in triumph, to their reſpective countries. But this was not the caſe with the Indians; for they could never dream of Bacchus's leading an army into (1) Libya; of his conquering (2) Lycurgus king of Thrace; or of his (3) returning to Thebes mounted on an elephant.

Uranus and Bacchus the two oldeſt deities.

It is clear from hiſtory that the Arabians had a chief deity, by whom was to be underſtood Dionyſus, or Bacchus. But there are ſeveral reaſons to think that this was not the true Bacchus, if he was a native of Arabia. As firſt the general perſwaſion of the Indians, that he was born at (4) Nyſa in their country, which lies at too great a diſtance to be miſtaken for the Arabian Nyſa. Again it is not probable that Bacchus would leave India, a fertile country, and large enough to find employment for more than one conqueror, and that for their whole lives, to make incurſions into the deſarts of Arabia. To theſe I muſt add my own private opinion,

(1) Of the Libyan Bacchus ſon of Ammon, and his wars with Saturn, and his other exploits in Libya, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account, hereafter.

(2) Τον δὲ Διόνυσον περαιώσαντα τὴν δύναμιν μάχῃ κρατῆσαι τ Θρακῶν, καὶ τ Λυκοῦργον ζωγρήσαντα τυφλῶσαί τε καὶ πᾶσαν αὐλίαν εἰσενεγκάμενον ἀναταυρῶσαι. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 139. But he ſays juſt afrer, that ſome of the poets, of whom was Antimachus, thought Lycurgus was not king of Thrace, but of Arabia. Τῶν δὲ ποιητῶν τινὲς, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἀποφαίνονται τ Λυκοῦργον οὐ Θρᾴκης, ἀλλα τ Ἀραβίας γεγονέναι βασιλέα. Idem.

(3) Τὸν δ' ἓν Διόνυσον φασὶ κολάσαντα μὲ τὸς ἀσεβεῖς ἐπεικῶς ὑ περιπεσόντα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, ἐκ τ Ινδικῆς ἐπ' ἐλέφαντ τ εἰς Θήβας ἐπάνοδον ποιήσασθαι. Idem. Ibid.

(4) Νύσιος γὰ ὁ Διόνυσος, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ινδοῖς Νύσης, Ινδῆς ὀνομάζεται, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ ἀκτῖνα ἔθνεσιν. Philoſtrat. Vita Apollon. Lib. 11. c. 2.

that Bacchus flouriſhed before the Arabians could be ſaid to be a nation. Iſhmael, who was to be the father of a great nation, is the perſon from whom they claim their deſcent; and I place Bacchus before Abraham, father of Iſhmael. Strabo likewiſe intimates that the name of the country, (1) Arabia, was not known in the times of the gods. The ancient Arabians kept no accounts of time, at leaſt none are come down to us; they only preſerved the general fame of the god, which they might receive at firſt from the Indians: and, I think, we may conclude, that their Bacchus could not be older than the time when they firſt began to worſhip him. For (2 Herodotus ſays, "Men computed the genealogies of their "gods, from the time when they began to be known to "them." This time indeed cannot now be diſcovered; however they ſeem to have been acquainted with him before the Egyptians. The Egyptians could go no further back into antiquity than their Oſiris; whoſe actions are a mixture of what had been performed before by Uranus and Bacchus; as a diſcerning reader may perceive by examining his hiſtory. His eaſtern conqueſts are derived from Bacchus, and his weſtern from Uranus: his wife and ſiſter Iſis ſeems to be no other than a ſecond

(1) Strabo ſays it might be ſo called from one Arabæus ſon of Hermes or Mercury, according to Steſichorus: but that it could not be ſo old as the Heroic times, or Mythic age.

Καὶ κούρην Αραβαίο τ' Ερμάων ἀκάκητα
Γείνατο.

Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Στησίχορος λέγει· Εἰκάζειν ἔν ἐστιν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ ἡ χώρα Αραβία· ἤδη τότε ὀνομάζετο, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἥρωας τυχὸν ἴσως οὔπω. Strabo Lib. 1. p. 42.

(2) Απ' οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτέων γένεσιν. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 146.

Titæa,

Titæa, or Terra, under a different name: and the murder of Oſiris is only that of Uranus, the circumſtances a little enlarged. The Phenician hiſtory, or the tranſlator Philo, is ſomething more particular about the death of Uranus, but mentions not a word of Bacchus; which ſome may think a reaſon for bringing Bacchus down lower than the time of Uranus; but it only proves that his worſhip was not ſo early known in Phenicia, as that of the other. Both ſeem to me to have lived near the ſame time; which I have placed about 2300 years, or more, before the Chriſtian Æra; and if miſtaken, am ready to ſubmit to better information.

The Egyptians pretenſions to Bacchus.

What the Arabians alledged for Bacchus's birth in Arabia Felix we know not, nor indeed whether they aſſerted any ſuch thing: if they did, the Egyptians claim to him is plainly founded upon theirs, as appears from the hiſtory of Oſiris. It is (1) ſaid, "That he marched by the Red Sea through Arabia as "far as to the Indies, the extremity of the world; that "he built many cities in the Indies; among the reſt, one "that he named Nyſa; being willing to leave a memo-"rial of that near Egypt, where he was brought up; "that he planted the Ivy [ſacred to Bacchus] in Nyſa

(1) Ἔπειτα ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν δι' Ἀραβίας παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν Θάλασσαν, ἕως Ἰνδῶν τοῦ πέρατος τῆς οἰκουμένης· κτίσαι δὴ καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς, ἐν αἷς καὶ Νύσαν ὀνομάσαι, βουλόμενον μνημεῖον ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκείνης καθ' ἣν ἐτράφη κατ' Αἴγυπτον. φυτεῦσαι δὲ καὶ κιττὸν ἐν τῇ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς Νύσῃ, καὶ διαμένειν τοῦτο τὸ φυτὸν ἐν ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ τῷ τόπῳ τῶν τε κατ' Ἰνδικὴν καὶ τὴν ὁμόραν χώραν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρουσίας ἀπολελοιπέναι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν, δι' ὧν προαχθέντας τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀμφισβητῆσαι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγοντας Ἰνδὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 12.

"of

"of the Indies, which continued to grow in that part "only, and the places adjacent: and that he left many "other tokens of his having been in that country. Whence "the later Indians were drawn into a controverſy about "that god; they aſſerting that he was an Indian by "birth." The ſtory is very plauſibly told, and with a ſeeming air of truth: but even from this ſtate of the caſe, the reader I believe will anticipate my ſentence; and adjudge the cauſe to the Indians, rather than the Egyptians. Tho' after all, I can admit neither of their pretenſions, but ſtill believe that he was a Scythian conqueror. It would be trifling to mention the fleets and naval victories of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, as tho' they any way related to Bacchus, becauſe we are (1) told, that Bacchus's invaſion was not made by ſea, but by land.

The pretenſions of the Greeks.

The Greeks muſt have been infatuated with the love of fable, to ſet up a Bacchus in their country; after they had received the uſe of letters, and might be ſo eaſily convicted of forgery. They aſſerted with as much confidence, tho' not with ſo good a grace, as the Egyptians, that the Indian Bacchus was a native of Greece; but tell us not how he got to India, nor what nations he conquered in his way thither. What actions he performed in Greece might be fables of their own; but the ſtories of foreign conqueſts muſt be borrowed

(1) Οὐ πρόσθεν ἵπποι ἐπὶ νεῶν ὀφθέντες ἐν τῇ Ινδῶν γῇ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Διονύσῳ ἐπ' Ινδοὺς στόλον οὐκ ἐμέμνηντο γενέσθαι ναυτικόν. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. 6. p. 124. Ed. Steph.

from

from the Egyptians. Philoſtratus ſays, (1) "The Greeks "differed from the Indians, and the Indians from one "another, about this god; for we, ſays he, affirm that "he was a Theban who conquered India:" and for the truth of this appeals to a Diſc of Indian ſilver, preſerved as an offering at Delphi. And yet he ſeems to bring an argument againſt himſelf, when deſcribing the temple of Bacchus at Nyſa, he ſays, (2) "There was a ſtatue of "the god remaining of white marble, under the form of "an Indian youth." But this whole account of Philoſtratus is an illjudged fiction, not founded upon the leaſt authority. The Greeks could have no knowledge of India, but what they received from the Egyptians. Oſiris, who was himſelf a counterfeit of the true Bacchus, was the pattern from which they copied; and in conformity to it, were obliged to (3) tranſport the ſon of Semele from Thebes to Nyſa in Arabia, before he could be deemed a true Bacchus. It would be endleſs, and to no purpoſe, to follow this god through all the fables of the Greeks. I ſhall only obſerve that after traverſing Europe, Aſia, and Libya, they brought him to his grave at laſt, and (4) buried him at Delphi; where his rites and myſteries

(1) Διαφέρονται γὰρ περὶ τῦ Διονύσυ τύτυ καὶ Ελλήνες Ινδοῖς, καὶ Ινδοὶ ἀλλήλοις· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ Θηβαῖον ἐπ' Ινδοὺς ἐλάσαι φαμέν —— Ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαῖον Ινδικοῦ δίσκου ὃ ἀπηνέγκασθαι ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ Ο ΣΕΜΕΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΙΝΔΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΔΕΛΦΟΙ. Philoſtratus. Vita Apollon. Lib. 2. c. 9.

(2) Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶναι μὲν Ινδῷ ἐφικτῷ, λίθυ δὲ ἕξεσθαι λευκῆς. Philoſtrat. Ibid.

(3) Νῦν δὲ Διόνυσον τε λέγυσι οἱ Ελληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον, ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνερράψατο Ζεὺς καὶ ἤνεικε ἐς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτυ, ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 146.

(4) Αἰγύπτιοί τε γὰρ Οσίριδος πολλαχῆ σήκας, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, δεικνύσι, καὶ Δελφοὶ τῆ Διονύσυ λείψανα παρ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸ χρηστήριον κεῖσθαι νομίζυσι. Plutarch. de Iſide & Oriſide. Διονύσυς ἔφυγε τὸν Λυκόργον· καὶ εἰς Δέλφυς ἐπελθὼν, ἐκεῖ τελευτᾷ. Jo. Malela. Chron. p. 52.

were

were preserved at least to the time of (1) Plutarch, if not later. (2) "This last Bacchus, the son of Semele, inherits the glory and reputation due to the former; which "was likewise the fate of Hercules:" says the unprejudiced historian.

The deification of the Grecian Bacchus.

Tho' we give no detail of the actions of the Grecian Bacchus, yet it may be proper to enquire into the time of his deification. (3) Dionysius the Milesian, who lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, compiled a *Fabulous History* in prose, interlarding it with verses from the mythologists and poets, who were the oldest Greek writers. The first poets of the Greeks were (4) Thracians, whose ages cannot now be settled; chronology being not at all the concern of the writers of those times. However it is probable, that all, who are mentioned in history, lived after the Greeks had gained the knowledge of letters. Thamyris, who is thought to be one of the oldest, wrote a poem of the Titan war; but here I think Bacchus could make no part of the fable, because he was not one of the Twelve Great Gods of Thrace, or Greece; and to make him an inferiour deity

(1) Plutarch inscribes his treatise *De Iside & Osiride*, to Clea chief priestess of Bacchus at Delphi.

(2) Διὰ δ' τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χρόνου, τῶν προτέρων εὑρετῶν ἀγνοηθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, τοῦτον κληρονομῆσαι τὴν τῶν προγενεστέρων προαίρεσίν τε καὶ δόξαν· οὐκ ὀπὶ τότε δὲ μόνον συμβῆναι τὸ προσιὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφ' Ηρακλέους. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 145.

(3) Διονυσίῳ τῷ συνταξαμένῳ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθοποιΐας· ἔστω δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔπι δὲ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ιλιακὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντα, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα συνέταξε, ᾠδαῖς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων, τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 140.

(4) See Enquiries concerning the first Inhabitants &c. of Europe. p. 32, 33.

would

would be doing him injuſtice. Linus the Theban poet, if he was the maſter of (1) Orpheus, was probably a Thracian; he wrote a poem of the elder Bacchus in the old Greek, or Pelaſgic, language and letters: this, I think, is the firſt time we hear of Bacchus in Greece. Linus brought the Phenician letters into uſe with the Greeks, and by all accounts was contemporary with Cadmus: the Bacchus therefore celebrated by him, could not be the ſon of Semele, but the Egyptian Oſiris. (2) Eumolpus another Thracian, followed Linus in treating of the actions of this god; and the ſubject of his poem I take to be the Egyptian Bacchus.

Orpheus introduced Bacchus into Greece.

But Orpheus the Thracian, above all others, has the honour of introducing Bacchus into the number of the gods of Greece. The Egyptians, of whoſe veracity I have no great opinion, (3) charged the Greeks with acting abſurdly; in affirming that Bacchus was born at Thebes. "They ſaid that Orpheus "came into Egypt, and was initiated into the rites and "myſteries of Bacchus; and thus inſtructed, brought

(1) Τὸν δὲ Λῖναν ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ μελῳδίᾳ θαυμασθέντα, μαθητὰς σχεῖν πολλοὺς, ἐπιφανεστάτους δὲ τρεῖς Ηρακλέα, Θάμυριν, καὶ Ορφέα. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 143.

(2) Εὔμολπος ἐν τοῖς Βακχικοῖς ἔπουσι φησὶν
Ἀστροφαῆ Διόνυσον ἐν ἀκτίνεσσι πυρωπόν. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 7.

(3) Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἐν Θήβαις τῆς Βοιωτίας γεγονέναι τὸν θεὸν ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Διὸς φασὶ σχεδιάζειν· Ορφέα γὰρ εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραλαβόντα καὶ μεταχόντα τῆς τελετῆς, καὶ τῶν Διονυσιακῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαβόντα —— Μετεσχηκότα δὲ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις θεολογουμένων, μετενεγκεῖν τὴν Οσίριδος τοῦ παλαιοῦ γένεσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους χρόνους. χαριζόμενον δὲ τοῖς Καδμείοις, ἐνστήσασθαι καινὴν τελετὴν καθ' ἣν παραδοῦναι τοῖς μυομένοις, ἐξ Σεμέλης καὶ Διὸς γεγεννῆσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον· τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸν ἀγνοίαν ἐξαπατωμένους, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν Ορφέως ἀξιοπιστίαν καὶ δόξαν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις προσέχοντας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἡδέως προσδεχομένους τὸν θεὸν Ἕλληνα νομιζόμενον, καθάπερ προείρηται, χρῆσασθαι ταῖς τελεταῖς. Diod. Lib. 1. p. 14.

"down the birth of the ancient Oſiris to much later "times; and to ingratiate himſelf with the Thebans, in- "ſtituted new rites, wherein the initiated were taught, "that Bacchus was the ſon of Jupiter and Semele. The "people thus deceived, partly through ignorance, partly "through the high opinion they had of Orpheus's ſkill "in ſacred matters; but chiefly becauſe it was a very "deſirable thing to have this god thought to be a Gre- "cian, readily received his myſteries." Tho' I much doubt whether Orpheus ever was in Egypt, or initiated into the myſteries of Oſiris; yet I can eaſily allow the Egyptians charge againſt the Greeks: and that their Bacchus was no more than Oſiris. But if the Egyptians had been aſked from whence they received Oſiris, I believe they muſt have anſwered from Arabia; and if the queſtion had been put to the Arabians, they muſt have ſaid from India. In ſhort the practice, of ſtealing their gods from one another, was ſo common among nations, that it was never thought a crime, but rather meritorious. The time between Cadmus and the Trojan war, by my reckoning is a period of about 400 years; within this period, and perhaps about the middle of it, the deification of Bacchus may be placed. The time of the elder Orpheus is uncertain, but muſt come within this period: and I think the affair of Jupiter and Semele muſt have grown into an old ſtory with the Greeks, before Orpheus could obtrude his new rites upon them.

Thymœtes

The Libyan Bacchus of Thymœtes.

Thymœtes ſon of Thymœtes was another old poet, ſaid to be (1) contemporary with Orpheus; he too compoſed a poem of the elder Bacchus in the Pelaſgic dialect and letters. This ſeems to have been wrote before the Greeks thought of a Bacchus of their own; or at leaſt while they were preparing the way for one. The ſubſtance of this poem was inſerted by Dionyſius Mileſius into his hiſtory; and ſeems deſigned to overthrow the credit of the Egyptian Bacchus, by feigning another more ancient in Libya. Thymœtes took care to lay the ſcene a great way off for his own ſecurity; but blended with it the oldeſt mythology of the Greeks. As it affords us an inſtance of the endleſs circulation of fables, I ſhall abſtract moſt of the particulars, which are preſerved in proſe by Diodorus; the whole being too long for this place.

The Libyan Bacchus Son of Ammon, and Amalthea.

"The Libyans near the Sea coaſt, "ſays (2) Diodorus, diſpute the "birth of this god; and ſhew that "Nyſa, and other things reported "of Bacchus, were remaining in their country, to this "day; and many ancient and modern mythologiſts and "poets of the Greeks agree with them." — "Thymœtes "travelled into many parts of the world, through Libya "to the weſtern or Atlantic ocean: he viſited Nyſa,

(1) Θυμοίτην τὸν Ουμοίτου τοῦ Λαομέδοντος, κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότα τοῦ Ορφέως. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 140.

(2) Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν τὴν Λιβύην νεμομένων οἱ πρὸς τὴν ὠκεανὸν οἰκοῦντες ἀμφισβητοῦσι τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ γενέσεως, καὶ τὴν Νύσαν καὶ τ' ἄλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογούμενα παρ' ἑαυτοῖς δεικνύουσι γεγενημένα. κλ. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 140.

" where Bacchus was brought up, and learning the ſtory " from the Nyſeans, wrote a poem entitled *Phrygia*, con- " cerning the actions of this god. Ammon, a king who " reigned in ſome part of Libya, married Rhea daughter " of Uranus, and ſiſter of Saturn, and the other Titans. " At his firſt entrance upon his government he met with " the nymph Amalthea on the (1) Ceraunian mountains, " and begot upon her Bacchus; but dreading the (2) jea- " louſy of Rhea, ſent him to be brought up at (3) Nyſa, " a city far diſtant, lying in an iſland ſurrounded by the " river Triton, and acceſſible only by one paſſage called " the Nyſean gates. [*Then follows a beautiful deſcription of the iſland, and grotto, wherein Bacchus was educated; which, I wiſh had been preſerved in it's primitive metre, it being no contemptible ſpecimen of the poets genius, and well worth the reading.*] " Ammon brought the child to " this grotto, and committed him to the care of Nyſa, " daughter of Ariſtæus, who was appointed his tutor " and inſtructor; but Minerva was his guardian. Here

(1) The Ceraunian mountains were ſituated on the north ſide of the Euxine, and extended from the Tanais to the Caſpian ſea. *Hinc orti montes longo ſe jugo, & donec Rhipæis conjungantur, exporrigunt; qui altera parte in Euxinum, Mæotida, & Tanaim, altera in Caſpium pelagus obverſi* CERAUNII *dicuntur.* Mela de Situ Orbis. Lib. 1. c. 20. Though little credit is to be given to this whole fable, yet if I could believe any part of it, it ſhould be this circumſtance of the Ceraunian mountains; for the poet might poſſibly have ſome notion, that Bacchus was of Scythian extraction.

(2) The jealouſy of Rhea ſeems to be copied from the jealouſy of Titæa wife of Uranus.

(3) This Nyſa I take to be the city of Bacchus mentioned by Strabo, that could never be found out twice by the ſame perſon. Ἐν ᾗ τῇ Λιβύῃ Διονύσου πόλιν εἶναι, ταύτῃ δ' ἐκ ἐνδέχεσθαι δὶς τ αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν. Strabo. Lib. 7. p. 299.

" whilſt

" whilſt a boy, he grew famous for finding out the uſe " of wine, and the way of preſſing grapes, and drying " ſome for ſtore. When his fame began to ſpread, Rhea " his ſtepmother would have ſtoln away the boy; but " being diſappointed, in a rage left Ammon, and re- " turned to her brothers the Titans, and married Sa- " turn; whom, with the Titans, ſhe perſwaded to make " war upon Ammon; who was defeated in battle, and " by famine obliged to retreat to Crete, whilſt Saturn " ſeized the kingdom. Bacchus then levied ſouldiers, " (1) two hundred of which were bred up with him, as " companions; and confederating with the Libyans and " Amazons, commanded by Minerva, routed Saturn in " a great battle, and took the Titans priſoners; but in- " ſtead of putting them to death, generouſly pardoned " them; and they took up arms under him. Then pur- " ſuing the war with Saturn, he came to Zabirna a city " of Libya, where he ſlew the terrible monſter Campe. " Then leading his army on, he fought Saturn under the " walls of the city of Ammon, and forced him to fly; " but Saturn reſolving to deſtroy the palace, ſet the city " on (2) fire in the night, and eſcaped with Rhea. Af-

(1) This is borrowed from the hiſtory of Seſoſtris, whoſe father collected all the boys in Egypt, who were born on the ſame day with his ſon; and bred them up with him, to be his companions, and fellow warriours. Vid. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 34.

(2) The Egyptian prieſts told Herodotus a ſtory ſomething like this. viz. " That Seſoſtris, returning from his conqueſts, was invited by his " brother to lodge in his houſe at Peluſium; but the brother ſet the houſe " on fire in the night, and Seſoſtris, with his wife and four children, hardly " eſcaped, with the loſs of two others, who periſhed in the flames." Herod. Lib 1. c. 107.

" terwards

" terwards taking Saturn and Rhea priſoners, he pardon-
" ed them; and Rhea loved him ever after as her own
" ſon; but Saturn's friendſhip was not to be truſted.
" About this time Saturn and Rhea had a ſon born to
" them, named Jupiter, on whom Bacchus conferred
" great honours. He then built a temple to his father
" Ammon, and ſet up an oracle. He conquered E-
" gypt, and made Jupiter king of it, though yet but a
" youth. He taught the Egyptians the uſe of wine, and
" in the barren countries, where vines would not grow,
" to make a (1) drink of barley, little inferiour to wine
" in ſtrength, taſte, or flavour. He is likewiſe ſaid to
" have returned by haſty marches from India, to the
" Mediterranean, and found the Titans paſſing over into
" Crete againſt Ammon. Jupiter levied forces in Egypt,
" and brought them to the aſſiſtance of Ammon; Bac-
" chus too, with Minerva, brought over their forces,
" when a battle was fought, wherein the Titans were all
" cut off to a man. When Ammon and Bacchus became
" immortal, and the Titans were utterly deſtroyed; Ju-
" piter obtained the empire of the world, none daring to
" be ſo impious as to diſpute it with him. This is what
" the Libyans related of the firſt Bacchus, ſon of Am-
" mon and Amalthea." If this was a report of the Li-byans, I eaſily gueſs from whence they learnt it; and

(1) This ſeems to be robbing the Egyptian Bacchus of the honour of the invention, for other authors aſcribe it to Oſiris. Τέλος δὲ τὸν Ὄσιριν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπελθόντα, τὸν κοινὸν βίον τοῖς ἡμερωτάτοις καρποῖς εὐεργετῆσαι· εἰ δὲ τις χώρα τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου μὴ προσδέχοιτο, διδάξαι τὸν ἐκ τῆς Κριθῆς κατασκευαζόμενον Πῶμα, λειπόμενον δὲ πολὺ τῆς τοῦ Οἴνου εὐωδίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 17.

do

do not wonder that the Greeks and Africans were ſo well agreed about it. This wild and incoherent romance induſtriouſly avoids all mention of Oſiris, as if there had been no ſuch king in Egypt: and begins with the times of Saturn, and reconciles him to his deadly enemies the Titans. But the principal deſign ſeems to be, to make Bacchus the ſon of the Libyan Ammon; and an older deity than Jupiter. From whence the hiſtorian takes occaſion, though I think unneceſſarily, to infer that there muſt be more than one Bacchus, and one of them older than the Theban. "Some, (1) ſays he, affirm that there "were ſeveral Bacchus's, and amongſt other proofs, give "the Titan war for one; for as all are agreed, that Bac-"chus fought with Jupiter in this war, it would be ab-"ſurd, they ſay, to bring the Titan age down to the "time of Semele; and to make Cadmus the ſon of Age-"nor older than the heavenly gods." The inference may be very juſt; but I muſt beg leave to diſſent from him in the main point: for neither this, nor any other hiſtory, can perſwade me, that any Bacchus ever joyned with Jupiter againſt the Titans. Becauſe I take Jupiter to be at leaſt two generations younger than Bacchus.

(1) Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν πλείους Διονύσους γεγονέναι, σὺν ἄλλαις ἀποδείξεσι πειρῶνται φέρειν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Τιτανομαχίας. συμφωνουμένου γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσιν, ὅτι Διόνυσος τῷ Διῒ συνηγωνίσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τιτᾶνας πόλεμον, οὐδαμῶς πρέπειν φασὶ τὴν τῶν Τιτάνων γενεὰν τιθέναι μετὰ τοὺς τῆς Σεμέλης χρόνους, οὐδὲ Κάδμον τὸν Ἀγήνορος ἀποφαίνεσθαι πρεσβύτερον εἶναι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 145.

To

Recapitulation of the hiſtory of Bacchus.

To draw into a clear view what has been ſaid of Bacchus, and to diveſt it of inconſiſtences, ſo frequent in fabulous hiſtory: we muſt firſt allow the precedence to the Indian Bacchus; for that I think is a point not to be conteſted. As to the Arabian, of whom we know ſo little, every reader muſt uſe his own judgment. Some may think that he came from Egypt, others that he was the ſame with the Indian; which laſt opinion I think moſt probable. By his being jointly worſhiped with Uranus he may be as old, and probably an older deity than him. Of all the other Bacchuſes Oſiris is undoubtedly the moſt ancient; and his age cannot be placed ſo high as the Titan empire. The (1) Egyptians feigned that he was the ſon of Saturn, as if they would make him equal to Jupiter; and the poet Thymœtes ſeems to have this in his eye, when he affirms that Bacchus appointed Jupiter ſon of Saturn to reign over Egypt: for by Jupiter he ſeems to me to mean Oſiris. The Greek poets thought themſelves privileged to create a Bacchus in any age, or country; but by examining their pedigrees, we ſhall find them all later than Oſiris, or at moſt the very ſame with him. Thus one is called the ſon of Jupiter and Proſerpine; another the ſon of Nilus; a third the ſon of Jupiter and Io, or of Jupiter and Ceres; theſe all may be reduced to one king of Egypt, and that king muſt be Oſiris. The ſon of Caprius alone, as

(1) Μετὰ ὃ ταῦτα τὸν Κρόνον ἄρξαι, τὴν γήμαντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ρέαν, γεννῆσαι μὲν τινας τῶν μυθολόγων Οσιριν καὶ Ισιν, καὶ ὃ τὸς πλείσους, Διὰ τὲ καὶ Ηραν. Diodor. Lib. 1. pag. 13.

he

he is called by Tully, can be placed before him; and he, as we ſaid above, muſt be the Indian Bacchus, the conqueror of Aſia. The Theban Bacchus was born ſeveral ages after Oſiris, and at a time when hiſtory began to dawn, and poetical fictions to loſe their weight; therefore his age is determined by hiſtorical circumſtances. The Libyan Bacchus ſcarce deſerves to be mentioned, but on the account of his pretended father Ammon. The name of (1) Hammon, or Ammon, may be derived from Ham the ſon of Noah; but he can upon no account be reckoned a deity of greater antiquity, than the Thracian, or Grecian gods; becauſe he is ſaid to be contemporary with Saturn and Jupiter. Notwithſtanding this, the poet has ſo far ſucceeded in his deſign, as to gain belief with the credulous Greeks; and to impoſe upon the great (2) conqueror of the world, by making him appeal to the oracle, in order to be recogniſed the ſon of Ammon.

Bacchus compared with Noah.

In the fable of ſo ancient a deity as Bacchus, whoſe name too ſpread through all nations, we may naturally expect ſome alluſions to facts recorded by Moſes: and the uſe we make of them ſhould be to confirm the authority of the ſacred writings. Thus I think we may conclude, that the hiſtory of Noah is genuine, and ori-

(1) *Sed totum hoc ſubnixum eſt fundamento iſti, Jovem hunc Ammonem eſſe eundem ac Ham, ſive Cham, Noe filium; uti non ſemel diximus.* Voſſius De Idololatria. Lib. 1. c. 32.

(2) Vid. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian. Exped. Alexand. Lib. 3. Quintus Curtius De Rebus Geſtis Alexandri. Lib. 4. c. 30.

ginal: that he (1) lived before, and after, the floud: that he was an husbandman, and taught the people agriculture: that he planted the vine, made wine, and was (2) overtaken by the power of it: since all these circumstances are transferred to Bacchus. And Bacchus, for aught I know, may be one of the best arguments to prove, that India and China were planted by Noah, and part of his family; an opinion strenuously maintained by some of the (1) moderns. Not that I would make him the same identical person with Noah, as others have done; because I suppose that he lived near a thousand years after the floud.

(1) It was a current opinion that Bacchus was twice born, and the allegorizers who took him for wine itself, accounted for it several ways; as that the leaf of the vine first shot out, then the grape; some thought that by the second birth was meant the custom of boiling the wine after it was made, to increase the strength and flavour. But others said, "The vine "with other fruits being destroyed in the floud of Deucalion, it sprung up "again after the floud; which is to be taken for the second appearance of "this god among men." Δὶς δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ Διὸς παραδεδόσθαι, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνα κατακλυσμῷ φθαρῆναι καὶ τούτους τοὺς καρπούς, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν πάλιν ἀναφυέντων, ὡσπερεὶ δευτέραν ἐπιφανειαν ταύτην ὑπάρξαι τοῦ θεοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώποις. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 138. This is no forced, nor obscure, allusion to the general deluge, and the circumstances of Noah's life.

(2) Bacchus was represented, as overtaken with wine, in the publick processions of the Greeks, as appears from Athenæus. Οὐ καλῶς δὲ οἱ πλάττοντες [Bacchum] ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμάξης διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς οἰνομένον· ἐπιδείκνυνται γὰρ τοῖς θεαταῖς, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττων ἐστὶν ὁ οἶνος. Deipnos. Lib. 10. p. 428.

(3) Goropius Becanus Indo Scythica. p. 523. Sir Walter Raleigh. Hist. Lib. 1. c. 7. §. 14. Webb's Essay to prove the Chinese the primitive language. Lond. 1669. p. 81, 82. Bayer Mus. Sinicum. Vol. 2. p. 299.

Tho'

Bacchus compared with Moſes.

Tho' the Iſraelites kept themſelves unmixt with the heathen for ſeveral ages, yet the Phenicians and Egyptians muſt in time grow acquainted with their hiſtory, and traditions; which they firſt appropriated to themſelves, and then communicated to the Greeks: and from hence came thoſe ſimilar events in the lives of Moſes and Bacchus. As that both were born in Egypt: were beautiful children: had two mothers: were expoſed upon the waters in an ark, or cheſt: both were pictured horned: Bacchus is called the Legiſlator: he paſſed through the Red Sea: one of the Bacchæ in Euripides, by ſtriking a rock with her Thyrſus, brought out water. Theſe, and more, the reader will find (1) collected to his hand; and, it is ſufficient to ſay, they are ſo many branches of truth made fables, by engrafting them on Pagan hiſtory.

Bacchus compared with Nimrod.

Bacchus has been thought to be Nimrod the mighty hunter in ſcripture. What, I ſuppoſe, gave riſe to the opinion, was Nimrod's forming a kingdom in the eaſt. But this kingdom does not ſeem to lye in the road of Bacchus's progreſs, or to have made any part of his Indian empire. When once the notion was ſtarted, criticks endeavoured to find proofs for it; and the Greek names of Bacchus are urged as plauſible reaſons. Thus

(1) Vide Voſſium De Idololatria. Lib. 1. c. 30.

(1) Νεβρώδης i. e. *Hinnulea pelle amictus*, is a common epithet given by the poets to Bacchus; and *Nebroth* is the Hebrew word for Nimrod, in Greek *Nebrodes*. Ζαγρεὺς is likewiſe another, anſwering to that of (2) *Mighty Hunter*. But theſe, I think, are not ſufficient to outweigh the other opinion, that Nimrod was the ſame with Belus: unleſs they would make him both Belus and Bacchus.

Of the Rites of Bacchus.

The rites of Bacchus may be thought to contribute ſomething towards illuſtrating his hiſtory; and therefore it may be expected that we ſhould add a word or two upon that ſubject. The fable of his being drawn in a chariot by tygers, ſufficiently indicates the country from whence he came: but what outward form of worſhip the Indians paid to him, is altogether unknown; unleſs we ſuppoſe that the Egyptian and Grecian rites were copied from them, which is not improbable. (3) "The ſecond Bacchus, ſon of Jupiter and Io, daughter of Inachus, "reigned over Egypt, and inſtituted the myſteries, and "taught the manner of initiating." This king muſt be

(1) *Nomen alludit ad* Nimra, *Chaldæi Tigrim ita nominant. Inde Tigres, in curru Bacchi, & amictus e pelle tigridis. Alii ex nebride malunt, & Nebrodem Bacchum appellant.*

Νυκτέλιον, Νομὶον, Νεβρώδεα, Νέβριδόπεπλον. Anthol. Lib. 1. c. 38. Epig. 1.

Quaſi veſtitum pelle Hinnuli, ignari hoc ipſiſſimum eſſe Nimrodi nomen apud Græcos. Vide 70 ſeniores, Joſephum, & alios. Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 1. c. 1.

(2) *Quid quod in fabulis Bacchi nomen antiquiſſimum eſt* Ζαγρεὺς, *id eſt, Robuſtus Venator, quo epitheto Nimrodem ſive Nebrodem inſignit Moſes.* Idem. Ibid.

(3) Τὸν δ' δεύτερον [Dionyſum] φασὶν ἐξ Ιοῦς τῆς Ινάχου Διὶ γενόμενον, βασιλεῦσαι μὲν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καταδεῖξαι δὲ τὰς τελετάς. Diodorus. Lib. 3. pag. 145.

Oſiris,

Oſiris, nor are the Egyptian myſteries older than his reign: and of what kind they were at firſt, it will be difficult to find out. External pomps and proceſſions became in time neceſſary attendants on devotion; and every age, I preſume, added ſomething new to their ceremonies; eſpecially in a country wholly addicted to ſuperſtition, for that knows no bounds. To endeavour to explain all theſe, would be pretending to a ſkill like that of interpreting dreams; wherein the ideas are faintly retained, and generally confuſed, and incoherent. Some perhaps may allude to particular actions of his life; as the Orgia, and frantic manner of ſhouting and dancing, may denote either his victories, or the power and effects of wine: the Bacchides armed with javelins may repreſent the female warriours in his army; and the timbrels and cymbals his warlike muſic; all theſe might come at firſt from India, and were perhaps whimſical, but innocent. And even the obſcene rites of Bacchus, which (1) Melampus brought from Egypt into Greece, ſeem to be derived from that country; ſince we find the ſame (2) indecencies in religion ſtill practiſed among the modern Indians.

(1) Φαλλὸν τ' τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμψαν Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθάονος καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιοῦσι τὰ ποιεῦσι Ἕλληνες. Herodot. Lib. 1. c. 49. Διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἕλληνα, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου παρειληφότα τὰ ὠδεῖ τὸν ὀργιασμὸν καὶ τὰς Διονυσιακὰς ἑορτὰς, πομπὴν τοῦτο τὸ Μόριον ἐν τε τοῖς μυστηρίοις, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ τότε τελεταῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις, ὀνομάζοντο αὐτὸ Φαλλόν. Diod. Lib. 1. p. 13.

(2) See Captain Hamilton's account of the god GOPALSAMI, worſhiped at Ganjam on the Coromandel coaſt toward the Ganges. *New Account of the Eaſt Indies. Vol.* 1. *p.* 332.

To

Of the names Dionyſus, Iacchus, Bacchus.

To make our hiſtory of this god more compleat, we will beſtow a ſentence or two upon the different names under which he was worſhiped. Theſe amount to too great a (1) number, to be treated particularly: and therefore I ſhall confine myſelf to three only, and thoſe of moſt common uſe, Dionyſus, Iacchus, Bacchus: neither of theſe can be proved to be his true Indian, or Scythian, name; but all ſeem to be given him after he ceaſed to be mortal. The firſt, DIONYSUS, is that by which he was known to the oldeſt Greek poets, Homer and Heſiod; and the Arabians and Egyptians probably uſed a word not very different from this. It was the general opinion of the Greeks, as well as of other nations, that this name had relation to the (2) city, ſo often mentioned, which he built, or where he was born. The Indians are ſaid to uſe the word (3) Δεῦνος, or *Deun* for a *King*; ſo that with them it ſignified the *King of Nyſa*; but with the Arabians ſomething more, if it is

(1) *Ogygia me Bacchum vocat,*
Oſirin Ægyptus putat,
Myſtæ Phacen nominant,
Dionyſon Indi exiſtimant,
Romana ſacra Liberum,
Arabica gens Adoneum,
Lucanianus Pantheum. Auſon. Epig. 29.
— *Bacchumque vocant, Bromiumque, Dyæumque,*
Ignigenam, Satumqne iterum, ſolumque Bimatrem.
Ovid. Met. Lib. 4.

(2) Ἐνταῦθα [Nyſæ] δ' ὑπὸ νυμφῶν τραφέντα τὸν παῖδα προσαγορευθῆναι μὲν ἀπὸ πατρὸς, καὶ τόπου, Διόνυσον. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 139.

(3) Οἱ δὲ Δεύνυσον· Ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Νύσσης. Δεῦνον δὲ τὸν Βασιλέα λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ὡς Ἰόβας. Etymol. Magnum.

derived

derived from their (1) *Du*, or *Dy*, *Nyſa*, i. e. *The Lord or*, *God*, *of Nyſa*. Thoſe who take Bacchus for Moſes, have another conceit, that (2) *Dy Nyſæ*, is the ſame as *Dy Sinai*, or *God of Sina*, by tranſpoſing the ſyllables; but this I think is ſtraining the parallel too far. Etymological proofs are ſeldom concluſive, unleſs where they come directly home to the point, and as it were command our aſſent. To give reaſons for the meaning of a name, drawn from ſome accident, or quality, couched under that word in another language, argues a lively imagination, but can have no great weight with the judicious. However when we conſider the high dignity of this god, I think we may without difficulty ſubſcribe to the opinion of ſome learned men, with regard to his name IACCHUS. This may poſſibly be the oldeſt, at leaſt the moſt ſacred, name; it being the word uſed in the (3) myſteries; and is ſaid never to be (4) applied to the Theban, but to the oldeſt Bacchus. IACH, according to the beſt criticks, as Selden, Voſſius, aud others, is the ſame as JAH, or *Jehovah*, the god of the Hebrews, which was ſometimes written (5) IAO: a deity pronounced by

(1) Vid. Pocock. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 106.

(2) *Sina autem vel Syna, per metatheſin fit Nyſa: inde* Διόνυσος, *hoc eſt Dominus Sinæ, vel Jehovah Sina.* Dickenſon. Delph. Phœnic. c. 10. p. 105.

(3) Καὶ πρόκα τε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαινεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν Ἴακχον. — καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἧς ἀκούεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁρτῇ Ιακχάζουσι. Herodot. Lib. 8. c. 65.

(4) Αθηναίοι Διόνυσον τὸν Διὸς καὶ Κόρης σέβουσιν, ἄλλον τοῦτον Διόνυσον· καὶ ὁ Ἴακχος ὁ μυστικὸς τούτῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ, οὐχὶ τῷ Θηβαίῳ, ἐπάδεται. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. 2. p. 43. Ed. Steph.

(5) Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ιουδαίοις Μώσην τὸν ΙΑΩ ἐπικαλούμενον θεὸν προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ διδόναι. Diodor. Lib. 1.

the

the (1) heathen oracle to be the greateſt of all the gods. And it is not improbable, that this was the name by which he was known to the ancient Indians; for they have preſerved the word to this day, only with a more guttural pronunciation: (2) KIACK in their language ſignifying *God*. BACCHUS, in the Æolic dialect, ſeems to be the ſame with IACCHUS; and therefore we may be excuſed from following ſome, otherwiſe very learned men, who bring it from a different root; as from (3) *Baccha*, ſignifying *Great*; or from (4) *Bar Chus*, becauſe, ſay they, Nimrod was the *Son of Chus*.

Whether any remains of Bacchus are left in India.

After ſo many thouſand years are paſt, ſince the time when we ſuppoſe Bacchus to have flouriſhed, it may be thought impoſſible to find any traces of him in India at preſent: eſpecially being deprived of all light from the ancients. His actions, as a man or king, may be ſuppoſed to be loſt and forgot; the particulars of his victories, the cities which he built, and the colonies that he planted, worn out of all knowledge: but the remembrance of him, as a deity, may poſſibly be preſerved to this time, ſince the Indians

(1) *Conſultus Apollo* Clarius, *quis deorum habendus ſit, qui vocatur* Ιάω, *ita effatus eſt*

Φεῖζεο τ πάντων ὑπατὸν θεὸν ἔμμεν Ιάω. Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 1. c. 18.

(2) *The King of Pegu's ſubjects, if they may be ſo called, treat him with fulſome adulation. When the ſpeak, or write to him, they call him their* God, *or in their language,* KIACK. Hamilton's *New Account of the Eaſt Indies.* Chap. 36. p. 43.

(3) BACCHA, *Grandem, Magnum, Præclarum eſſe denotare.* Pocock. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 107.

(4) Bochart Phaleg. Lib. 1. c. 2.

continue

continue ſtill idolaters. If we only recollect, how long, and under how many various names, and forms of worſhip, the memory of Jupiter was kept up in different countries; we cannot but think, that the ſame honours might be paid to Bacchus, by the different nations of the Indies. With a view therefore of finding ſome latent tokens of him, under one ſhape or another, among that people, I ſhall make a few extracts from modern writers and travellers; which if they tend to no other purpoſe, may ſerve to exerciſe the readers curioſity, if he is at all inquiſitive; without preſuming to come to any certainty, or to determine any thing myſelf.

The Chineſe Fo *an Indian Deity.*

As the Greek hiſtorians fail us from the times of Alexander and Seleucus; we muſt be beholden to others the moſt authentic we can find. Here the Chineſe hiſtory ſeems to come in to our aſſiſtance. It is (1) ſaid that in confidence of that prophecy of Confucius, "That the Holy One was to appear in the Weſt," the emperour Ming Ti ſent perſons in queſt of him into India; who, under a perſwaſion that they had found him, brought the worſhip of FO into China, about the year of Chriſt 64. This muſt have been the moſt conſiderable deity of India at that time; tho' by their accounts he was born long before Confucius, and even a thouſand years before the Chriſtian Æra. His birth, and actions, as they are related, are of the marvellous kind, and entirely fabulous: nor is there much agreement to be found between them, and the Greek accounts of Bacchus. The

(1) See P. Du Halde's Hiſtory of China.

ſyllable FO ſeems not to be his Indian name, but given him by the Chineſe, perhaps on account of their firſt king *Fohi*. Nor was this his only name; for he was likewiſe called *Fwe Kyau*, *Fo Tſe*; and by the Chineſe themſelves, *She*, or *She Kya*, and by the (1) Japoneſe *Xaca*, or, *Sha Ka*. Whether *Kyau*, *She Kya*, or *Sha Ka*, may have any affinity with *Jah*, *Jao*, *Iach*, I leave to the readers judgment.

Maidaſhuren, or Bull-Giant, of Malabar.

The learned profeſſor (2) Bayer of Petersburg, ſays he was informed by the Daniſh miſſionaries at Tranquebar, "That the Indians of Malabar have "a tradition, that there formerly lived a giant called "*Maidaſhuren*, or the *Bull-Giant*, born at *Niſadaburam*, "near the mountain *Meru:* he wore bulls horns; was "fed with the fleſh of cows, and of other animals; was "often drunk with wine; and made war upon the gods. "He had for his companions, Eight *Pudam*, or gigantic "and malicious dæmons, of the family of Indian Shep-

(1) Vid. Kircher China Illuſtrata. Part. 3. p. 152, 153, &c.

(2) "*Indi Tamuli narrant*, MAIDASHUREN *fuiſſe aliquem, dictum a Maid-*"*ham & Aſuren, quaſi* TAURUM GIGANTEM, *(gigantes autem fingunt heroas* "*ſuos fuiſſe) in Niſadaburam urbe, haud longe a Meru monte natum, qui tau-*"*rina cornua geſtarit; carnibuſque paſtus, tum aliarum animantium, tum Vac-*"*carum; (quod in Indis ſummum ſcelus) & vino ad ebrietatem repleri ſolitus* "*diis bellum intulerit. Ceterum in comitatu habuiſſe octo Pudam, ſeu giganteos* "*& malitioſos dæmonas, ex familia Indicorum paſtorum, quos Kobaler, i. e.* "*Paſtores, vocant; curru vectum ab octonis Leonibus, aut leopardis, aut tigri-*"*dibus, aut elephantis.*" *Habetis Nyſam, ubi natum ferunt Bacchum etiam Græcorum aliqui: habetis Merum montem, unde Jovis μηρὸς Luciani agitatus jocis; habetis κοδάλας Bacchi, & cornua, & currum, & quicquid ad fabulam veteris Græciæ deſideretis. Nam de Amazonibus, ſeu bellicoſis viraginibus ad Gangem Indi nunc quoque multa prædicant.* Bayer Hiſt. Bactrian. pag. 2, 3.

"heards,

"heards, whom they call *Kobaler*, and he was drawn in "a chariot by eight Lions, Leopards, Tigers, or Ele-"phants." Here, ſays our author, "You have the city "of Nyſa, where Bacchus was born, and mount, Meros "where he was brought up; You have the (2) *Cobali* of "Bacchus, his horns, and his chariot, and whatever is "required to the ancient fable of the Greeks. For as to "the Amazons, the Indians near the Ganges are ſtill full "of their exploits." I deliver this fable as it is handed down to us; and recommend to the readers enquiry, Whether the remains of *Niſadaburam*, and *Meru*, may not be found in the cities (1) *Niſa* and *Niſchabour*, and *Marou*, or *Merou Erroud*; they ſeem to be ſituated in about 38 degrees of latitude, and in the ancient Bactria; the country from whence I ſuppoſe Bacchus to have ſet out. I will not take upon me to ſay, that this profane eating of the fleſh of cows, and other animals, is an argument of Bacchus's Tartarian, or Scythian, extraction; but cannot but obſerve that the Greeks had ſome notion of him under this character; for they had a Bacchus called (3) Ωμηςὴς, or an *Eater of Raw fleſh*, to whom human victims were ſacrificed. The antiquity of the fable cannot be determined; but it muſt be confeſſed, that it car-

(1) Κόβαλοι Δαίμονες εἶσί τινες σκληροὶ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον. Απατεῶνες. Ariſtoph. Schol. in Plutum. v. 279. Κοβάλους. Εκ παραλλήλου Κοβάλους καὶ Πανούργους. Idem. in Batrach. v. 147.

(2) See Hiſt. of Gengizchan. Book. 4. c. 2.

(3) Τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσεν τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι, καὶ καθιερῶσαι πάντας, Ωμηςῇ Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ελλησιν. Plutarch. in Themiſtocle. Ετι δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους σφαγιασθέντας Ωμηςῇ Διονύσῳ. Plutarch. in Pelopida. Καὶ λέγονται κατὰ τὸ λόγιον τοῦ μαντέως Ευφραντίδου Ωμηςῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερωθῆναι. Idem. in Ariſtide.

ries with it the genuine marks of the Grecian Bacchus; tho' he is repreſented in ſo hideous a form, that the picture ſeems to be drawn by an enemy. Upon the whole, I think we may conclude, that the worſhip of Bacchus did not prevail; nor did he probably ſignalize himſelf, in this part of India, any other ways than by his hoſtilities.

The Indian god Ram.

Let us ſee whether we can find more reſpectable footſteps of him in Moguliſtan. In the province of Becar, towards the Ganges, the Indians had a god called Ram, whoſe character agrees pretty well with that of Bacchus; (1) Kircher takes him to be Fo, or Sha ka, abovementioned. "RAM, ſays (2) Mr Thevenot, was a great King, "whoſe ſanctity, and good offices, have procured him a "more particular communion with God, than other "Saints have, and therefore they ſhew him much more "reverence." This tradition may prove, that he was at firſt a mortal; but the word RAM, or RAMAS with a Greek termination, ſeems to mean (3) *The moſt High*, or God himſelf: and was probably the ſame with their *Brahma*, the creatour of the univerſe. But this perhaps was a title, which the wiſer ſort of the modern Indians, who are more deiſts, than Idolaters, might think too great to be given to their god RAM.

(1) China Illuſtr. p. 152.
(2) Travels into the Indies. pag. 64.
(3) PAMAΣ. Ο ὕψιστος Θεός. Heſychius.

From

Samonifu, or Shakmonni.

From the Ganges let us proceed to the more eaſtern parts of India, and further. In Shen Si, one of the northern provinces of China, and which is ſaid to be the firſt that was inhabited; At a city called Kam ju, by others Campion, and, by M. Paul the Venetian (1) Campition; the (2) embaſſadors of Sha Rokh, ſon of Tamerlane, to the emperour of China, found in the year 1419, "A temple each ſide 500 cubits in length, and "in the middle an Idol, lying as it were aſleep, 50 feet "in length; ſo that the hands and feet were 9 feet long, "and the head 21 round; at his back, and over his head, "were others of a cubit, as if alive. The great one was "all over gilded, and had one hand under his head, the "other ſtretched down along his thigh: they called him "SAMONIFU, and run in crouds to bow before him." This I make no doubt was the Chineſe idol FO. Ramuſio, the collector of Travels, (3) ſays, "In Kampion "their temples are built like the churches at Venice, "large enough to hold four, or five, thouſand men; in "them are ſeen the ſtatues of a man and woman ſtretch-"ed on the ground, each fourty foot long, all of one "piece and gilded." Ramuſio differs a little from the former relation, and no wonder; ſince he wrote not upon his own knowledge, but upon the information of o-

(1) *Porro idola illa* [in Campitio] *ſunt formata, vel ex lapide, vel ex ligno, vel ex luto, deſuper deaurata. Inter hæc quædam ſunt tam magna, ut decem paſſus contineant longitudine, terræ ac ſi ſupini jacerent affixa: juxta quæ parva ſunt poſita idola, quæ majoribus reverentiam exhibere videantur.* Mar. Paulus Ven. Itiner. Lib. 1. c. 49.

(2) See Aſtley's Collection of Travels. 4°. Lond. 1747. Vol. 4. p. 624.

(3) Aſtley's Collection. Vol. 4. p. 639.

thers:

thers: but there can be no doubt, but he meant the ſame temple and idol; the woman being ſuperadded to the account. The before mentioned embaſſadours, in their road through Little Bukharia, took notice of the city Tarkan, or Turfan, (1) "Where is a great temple, with "a huge Idol in it, which the inhabitants, who are ido- "laters, ſay is the image of SHAKMONNI." This deſcription of the temples, and images, together with the likeneſs of the names, prove that both were dedicated to one, and the ſame, god. MONNI, or MONI, is an adſcititious term, that we can make nothing of: but FU ſeems to mean the ſame as FO, the great Indian idol; who, as we obſerved before, was called *She Kia*, or *Sha Ka*; from whence *Shack*, *Sha*, or *Sa*, as it might be differently pronounced by different people.

Kiackiack in the kingdom of Pegu.

Let us return from the north to the ſouthern country of India towards the ocean. Captain Hamilton, whoſe diligence and curioſity, in obſerving every thing remarkable in his travels, our traders would do well to imitate, (2) ſays, "That in the kingdon of Pegu, "there are two large temples near Syrian, ſo like one "another in ſtructure, that they ſeem to be built by one "model. One ſtands about ſix miles to the ſouthward, "called *Kiackiack*, or *The Gods of Gods*, temple. In it "is an image twenty yards long, lying in a ſleeping poſ- "ture, and by their tradition has lain in that poſture "6000 years. His doors and windows are always open,

(1) Aſtley's Collection. Vol. 4. p. 622.
(2) New Account of the Eaſt Indies. Vol. 2. c. 37. p. 57.

"and

"and every one has the liberty to ſee him; and when "he awakes, this world is to be annihilated." This is certainly the ſame idol with thoſe of Tarkan and Campion; their bulk and attitude prove as much. And the name *Kiack*, as we ſaid before, may poſſibly be the ſame as *Iach*; and that the ſame with *Shak*. The repetition of the ſyllables in Kiackiack brings to my mind the oldeſt name of Bacchus, or (1) *Βακχέβαχχος*; together with the repeated (2) vociferations in his myſteries; by which perhaps they meant to invoke him as the ſupreme deity, or God of Gods. As to the time of his ſleeping, it is indeed a longer term than the ancients allowed to Bacchus; for he is ſaid to have ſlept only (3) three years: but ſtories of this kind loſe nothing, and rather gain, by time and telling. I think however, that the fable of a god's ſleeping at all, was probably derived from India; and that, in the opinion of the natives, their idol was of the greateſt antiquity. And had they reckoned only 4000 years, inſtead of 6000, it might be thought a chronological argument in favour of Bacchus.

(1) *Sed nomen* Βακχέβακχος, *ut alia item quamplurima, alibi quam apud Orpheum non legas. Imitatus eſt eleganter in novanda ea dictione vetuſtiſſimam Bacchi appellationem* Βάκχεβακχος, *quam heroici metri lex non admittebat; ita Liberum patrem in ipſis Orgiis & myſteriis vocant.* Iſ. Caſaubon. De Poeſi Satyr. Græcorum. ΒΑΚΧΕΒΑΚΧΟΣ. Ο Διόνυσος οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ἐν ταῖς Θυσίαις. Heſychius.

(2) Ιακχ' ὦ Ἴακχε
Ιακχ' ὦ Ἴακχε. Ariſtophan. Ranæ. v. 318, 319.

(3) Ὃς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἱεροῖσι δόμοισιν ἰαύων
Κοιμίζει ΤΡΙΕΤΗΡΑ χρόνον Βακχήϊον ἁγνόν. Orph. Hymn. in Bacchum.

I cannot

Jagrenat, or Jagarnath.

I cannot take my leave of India, without taking notice of another deity, and one of very great antiquity; for he is reported to have come into that country three or four thouſand years ago. He is called Jagrenat, or (1) Jagarnath, from the place, where he has a magnificent temple built to him, on the Coromandel coaſt near the Ganges. This temple, or Pagod, is of a very ſingular ſtructure, tho' few travellers have thought it worth their notice. Monſieur (2) Tavernier, by his account, ſeems to have been admitted into it; and ſays, it is the moſt conſiderable idolatrous temple in all India; that it is filled with a multitude of ſtatues, and monſtrous images; and has particularly one chief idol placed on an altar, who is called *Reſora*; but he gives no deſcription of the building. Our countryman Captain Hamilton, who could not gain admittance, tho' he offered money, has obliged us with a draught of the outward form of the temple, and a ſhort account of the chief idol within. "The Temple, (3) ſays he, is built in the ſhape of "a Canary Pipe ſet on end, about 40 or 50 yards high; "about the middle of it is an image of an Ox cut in "one entire ſtone, bigger than a live one. He looks to-"wards the South Eaſt, and his hinder parts are fixed in "the wall. The fabric is crowned with a top about the "ſame diameter that it is in the middle, and the temple

(1) Vid. Kircher China Illuſt. Par. 3. p. 160.

(2) See His Travels in India. Book 3. c. 9.

(3) New Account of the Eaſt Indies. Cap. 31. pag. 387. Where the reader may ſee a rude draught of the temple exhibited on a copper plate.

"being

"being exactly round, makes no contemptible figure in "architecture." Whether the form of the temple, which is not unlike the (1) Congius of Veſpaſian at Rome, was to repreſent that of a veſſel uſed for preſerving wine, I ſhall not judge: nor whether the Ox was deſigned for a ſymbol of agriculture: both were inventions of Bacchus. The rites performed to the idol by his devotees agree with thoſe of the ancient Bacchanals. For the ſame author (2) ſays. "I ſtaid there one day and two nights, "and my lodgings were in a houſe very near the Pagod. "The nights were ſpent in beating on Tabors and braſs "Cymbals, with ſongs of praiſes on Jagarenat; who is "only a ſtone god, not carved into any figure, but an "irregular pyramidal black ſtone about 4 or 500[lb] weight, "with two rich diamonds placed near the top to repre-"ſent eyes; and a noſe and mouth painted with vermi-"lion." This information he received from one of his ſervants a gentow, ſent to the temple for that purpoſe; and it agrees with the account of Tavernier; only the latter ſays it was of black ſandal wood. One may ſuſpect, that this was the ſame deity, which the Arabians worſhiped under the form of a (3) Square Stone; and by which ſome have thought that they meant their god Bacchus. As Jagarnat ſeems to me to be one of the oldeſt idols of India, and his temple perhaps the moſt ancient heathen ſtructure now ſubſiſting: our mercantile gentlemen I hope will excuſe me, if I wiſh that amidſt their

(1) See Mr Greaves Of the Roman Denarius. 1647. Pag. 88.

(2))New Account &c. Cap. 31. p. 387.

(3) Ἀραβίοι σέβουσι μὲν, ἔγπνα δὲ οὐκ οἶδα· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὁ Διόνυσος ἦν Τετράγωνος. Max. Tyr. Diſſ. 38.

weightier concerns of gain and commerce, they would ſo far favour the cauſe of learning, as to procure a few informations concerning this deity. I dont mean from the traditions of the vulgar, but from the books of the Bramins; to which I ſuppoſe they may now have an eaſy acceſs, ſince we have gained ſo good a footing in that part of India.

Why Hercules is joined with Bacchus.

I join the hiſtory of Hercules to that of Bacchus, becauſe both ſeem to be exotic heroes; and neither of them was of the firſt claſs of gods in Greece; tho' otherwiſe of the greateſt eminence. Other nations, beſides the Greeks, aſſerted their right to Hercules, as well as Bacchus. He was worſhiped by the Phenicians at Tyre; tho' how the Tyrians came to the knowledge of him cannot now be diſcovered. Nor can the Egyptians give a better account how they came by him. The Libyans are ſaid to have had ſome knowledge of him, and perhaps had as good a right to him, as any of the former, and no better. All related fables of him without time, or order; and the moſt we can gather from them is, that, from whence ſoever he came, he was a perſon of unparallel'd ſtrength and courage. His firſt actions ſeem to have been performed in India; and all the light we can expect in his caſe, muſt come from the hiſtory of Alexander. (1) Strabo, following Eratoſthenes, thought theſe exploits of Bacchus and Hercules were fictions of the Macedonians, to do honour to their king:

(1) Πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ περὶ Αλέξανδρον τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀπὸ τ' ἀληθοῦς ὑποδέχονται μᾶλλον. Strabo. Lib. 15. pag. 698.

but

but ſurely there muſt have been ſome grounds for the report of their expeditions into India; for no reaſon can be aſſigned, why theſe two gods, rather than any other, ſhould be pitched upon to flatter Alexander. (1) Megaſthenes, who lived nearer to the time of Alexander, and was upon the ſpot, had the beſt opportunity of enquiring into the truth of the reports; and he always acknowledged them to be true hiſtory.

Of the time of Hercules.

The time of Hercules is as much unknown, as that of Bacchus. Conſidered as a Greek, he was one of the youngeſt of the gods; being the reputed ſon of Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon king of Thebes. Here we muſt have recourſe to a new æra, viz. The Deſtruction of Troy; which may be placed in round numbers 1200 years before Chriſt. The actions aſcribed to the Grecian Herculeſ, as his ſacking Troy in the reign of Laomedon, and his expedition with the Argonauts, can ſcarce give him ſo much as fifty years before that epoch. And yet (2) Herodotus ſays, "That from Hercules ſon of Alc-"mena to his own time were 900 years." This will make him an hundred years older, and place him by our reckoning 1350 years before Chriſt. Be this as it will, it is certain that there muſt have been another Hercules, much older than this Theban. (3) Arrian ſays, "Her-

(1) Καὶ τὰ περὶ Ηρακλέους δὲ καὶ Διονύσου Μεγασθένης μὲν μετ' ὀλίγων πεφὶ ἡγεῖται· τὰ δ' ἄλλων οἱ πλείους, ὧν ὀξὺ καὶ Ερατοσθένης, ἄπιστα καὶ μυθώδη, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῖς Ελλησιν. Strab. L. 15. p. 687.

(2) Ηρακλέϊ δὲ τῷ Αλκμήνης κατ' Εἰνακόσια ἔτεα ἐς ἐμέ. Herod. Lib. 2. c. 145.

(3) Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Τύρῳ ἱερὸν Ηρακλέους παλαιότατα ἓν μνήμην ἀνθρωπίνην μαρτύρεται, ὃ τῷ Αργείῳ Ηρακλέους, τὸ δὲ Αλκμήνης· πολλαῖς γὰρ γενεαῖς πρότερον πεποίηται ἐν Τύρῳ Ηρακλῆς. Arrian. Exp. Alexandri. Lib. 2. p. 43. Ed. Steph.

"cules was worſhiped at Tyre, many ages before the ſon "of Alcmena," which we have no reaſon to queſtion: but the account of the Tyrians themſelves is altogether incredible. (1) They affirmed that the temple of Hercu-"les was as old as their city, which was built 2300 "years before the time of Herodotus;" ſuch was the vanity of the Tyrians! In Egypt the prieſts informed Herodotus, that (2) "Hercules was admitted into the number of "the Twelve Gods 17,000 years before the reign of "Amaſis." Theſe, reduced to luni-ſolar years, may make about 1417, and with the reign of Amaſis 1987. "The "Egyptians, ſays (3) Diodorus, affirmed that Hercules "ſon of Alcmena, was born 10,000 years after the older "Hercules;" theſe, by the ſame reduction, amount to about 833, and with the time, which I have allowed him, or 1250 before Chriſt, will make 2083. I lay no great ſtreſs upon the Egyptian chronology, nor indeed upon the Greek, before the Trojan æra: but theſe are the only helps we have, and we muſt be content with them. All I think that we can conclude from hence is, that the Egyptians received Hercules, as a deity, about 2000 years, or more, before the Chriſtian æra; which, as we obſerved, was about the reign of Oſiris. And tho' I affirm not, that he, or Bacchus, lived ſo late as the age of Oſiris; yet I think this was the time when both

(1) Εφασιν γὰρ, ἅμα Τύρῳ οἰκιζομένῃ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυνθῆναι· εἶναι δὲ ἔτεα ἀφ' οὗ Τύρον οἰκέουσι Τριηκόσια καὶ Διχίλια. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 44.

(2) Αλλά τις ἀρχαῖος ἐστι θεὸς Αιγυπτίοισι Ηρακλέης· ὡς δὲ αυτοὶ λέγουσι, ἔτεα ἐστὶ Επτακιχίλια καὶ Μύρια ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεί τε ἐκ τῶν Οκτὼ θεῶν οἱ Δυώδεκα ἐγένοντο, τῶν Ηρακλέα ἕνα νομίζουσι. Idem. c. 43.

(3) Τὸν δὲ ἐξ Αλκμήνης γενόμενον, ὕστερον πλείοσιν ἔτεσιν ἢ Μυρίοις, Αλκαῖον ἐκ γενετῆς καλήμενον, ὕστερον Ηρακλέα μετονομασθῆναι. Diodor. Lib. 1. pag. 14.

were

were admitted into the number of the gods of Egypt. Oſiris with the counſel of Thoth, gave the Egyptians laws, both ſacred and civil. By Thoth, the ancients always underſtood Mercury; or a perſon of the ſame character; a man of letters, ſkilled in the arts of modelling a government. From this time, and no higher, whatever they pretended afterwards, the Egyptians kept a ſort of reckoning of times: and it is evident to me, that all their hiſtory muſt be later than the age of Jupiter and the Titans.

Hercules and Bacchus not cotemporaries.

Some modern (1) authors, who take Bacchus for Moſes, Hercules for Joſhua, and India for the land of Canaan, alledge that theſe two gods were cotemporaries, and confederates in the invaſion of India; but I can ſee no foundation for ſuch an opinion: eſpecially if we believe the report of the (2) Indians themſelves, that "Bacchus was fifteen generations older than Hercu-"les." We muſt, it is true, look for the firſt Hercules, as well as Bacchus, in India; and tho' the expeditions of both are mentioned together by authors, when they ſpeak of India; yet they dont mean that they were performed at the ſame time, but rather the contrary.

(1) *Ratum igitur fixumque maneat, antiquos olim Bacchi & Herculis, Moſen & Joſuam, Indorum vero nomine, Arabes & Cananæos intellexiſſe.* Dickenſon Delphi Phœniciz. p. 40. Vide etiam Voſſ. de Idol. Lib. 1. c. 27. *Hercules ille Ægyptius: qui Poſſevino teſte, ad annos circiter mille ducentos ante Alexandrum, quod Joſuæ temporibus apte convenit, Baccho commilitonem ſe dedit, & una cum illo ad Nyſam montem comparuit.* Delph. Phœnic. p. 37.

(2) Πρεσβύτερον τε Διόνυσον Ηρακλέους Δέκα καὶ Πέντε γενεῆσιν Ινδοὶ λέγουσιν. Arrian. Indic. p. 175.

Bacchus

Hercules not ſo great a god as Bacchus.

Bacchus has likewiſe the advantage in point of character, as well as of antiquity: for we may obſerve that ſtrength and valour are the chief attributes of Hercules; but beneficence is more peculiarly that of Bacchus, which makes him ſuperiour to the other. Alexander in his ſpeech to his army, calls "(1) Bacchus a "god of higher rank than Hercules:" and though this ſpeech was probably made for him by the hiſtorian, yet we may believe that he ſpeaks the ſentiments of Alexander; who aſſumed the character of Bacchus, rather than that of Hercules. Beſides Hercules was thought, to have entered only the (2) weſtern borders of India, whilſt Bacchus is ſaid to have reigned over the whole country. Therefore we may ſafely conclude, that Hercules's conqueſts were not performed at the ſame time, nor were in any degree comparable to thoſe of Bacchus. The reaſon of this might be the different ſtate of things, after Bacchus came into India. He had no more to do, than to overrun a wide country, thinly inhabited, and to ſubdue a rude, and unconnected, people: but the regulations, made by him afterwards, rendered the enterprize of Hercules much more difficult.

(1) Οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Διονύσου, ἀκροτέρου τούτου θεοῦ ἢ καθ' Ηρακλέα, ὀλίγοι πόνοι. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. 5. p. 120.

(2) Περὶ δὲ Ηρακλέους οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τ' αναντία μόνον μέχρι τῶν ἑσπερίων περάτων ἱστοροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα. Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 687.

Arrian

Hercules worſhiped in India.

Arrian (1) ſays, "There were "many reports of Alexander's ex- "pedition into India, and of Bac- "chus before him, invading and conquering the Indians; "but not much ſaid of Hercules." However he muſt have performed ſomething very conſiderable, and worthy of notice, to make himſelf remembered ſo long in that country. The Indians believed him to be a native of India; and as ſuch he was worſhiped by the (2) Suraſenians. He is (3) ſaid to have had many ſons, and only one daughter called Pandæa, to whom he bequeathed a large territory in India, denominated from her Pandæa; together with elephants, and a great army of horſe and foot. This was probably a tradition of the Pandæans; though we are not bound to believe, that they deſcended from Hercules; nor that Hercules had ſuch a daughter. The (4) Sibæ, an Indian nation, were reported to be the deſcendants of thoſe, who aſſiſted Hercules at the

(1) Αλλὰ καὶ Αλέξανδρον γὰρ στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Ινδοὺς μοῦνον· καὶ πρὸ Αλεξάνδρου, Διονύσου περὶ πολλὸς λόγος κατέχει, ὡς καὶ τούτου στρατεύσαντος ἐς Ινδοὺς, καὶ καταστρεψαμένου Ινδοὺς, Ηρακλέους δὲ πέρι οὐ πολλός. Arrian. Hiſt. Ind.

(2) Ηρακλέα δὲ ὅντινα ἐς Ινδοὺς ἀφικέσθαι λόγος κατέχει, παρ' αὐτοῖσιν Ινδοῖσι γηγενέα λέγεσθαι· τοῦτον τὸν Ηρακλέα μάλιστα πρὸς Συρασηνῶν γεραίρεσθαι Ινδικοῦ ἔθνεος. Idem.

(3) Καὶ τούτῳ [Herculi] ἄρσενας μὲν παῖδας πολλοὺς κάρτα γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Ινδῶν γῇ, θυγατέρα δὲ μουνογενέην· οὔνομα δὲ εἶναι τῇ παιδὶ Πανδαίην· καὶ τὴν χώρην ἵνα τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἧς τινος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτὴν ἄρχειν Ηρακλέης, Πανδαίην, τῆς παιδὸς ἐπώνυμον. κλ. Arrian. Indic. p. 175. *Ab iis gens Pandæ, ſola Indorum regnata fœminis. Unam Herculi ſexus ejus genitam ferunt, ob idque gratiorem præcipuo regno donatam.* Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 6. c. 20.

(4) Προῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀνομαζόμενους Σίβας· τούτους δὲ φασὶν ἀπογόνους εἶναι τῶν μεθ' Ηρακλέους ἐπὶ τὴν Αὔρνον πέτραν στρατευσάντων. Diodor. Lib. 17. pag. 613.

attack

attack of the rock (1) Aornus, which he thrice attempted, but could not force, tho' Alexander took it afterwards at once: ſome Indians likewiſe affirmed, that the (2) older Hercules was clad in the ſame manner as the Theban; I ſuppoſe equipt with club, lionſkin, bow, and arrows. This laſt might be a fiction of the Greeks, to ſupport the ſtory of their Theban god; and the attack at Aornus, another to flatter their king: but ſtill there muſt have been a general belief, that Hercules had ſomething to do in thoſe parts, otherwiſe ſuch fictions could not be ſwallowed.

The Egyptian Hercules.

Herodotus (3) ſays, "The Egyptians "had three orders of deities. The firſt "conſiſted of Eight Gods, of which "number was Pan the oldeſt of all. The Second con- "ſiſted of Twelve, of which number was Hercules. "The Third, of thoſe who were born of the Twelve, of "which number was Bacchus." This is but a lame, and unſatisfactory, account of their gods; and looks as if they meant to make the whole a myſtery, as they did almoſt every thing elſe. If theſe differed in dignity according to the order of time, Bacchus ſeems to be degraded; for by other Egyptian accounts, he was both

(5) Ἄορνον δέ τινα πέτραν, ἧς τὰς ῥίζας ὁ Ἰνδὸς ὑποῤῥεῖ πλησίον τῶν πηγῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χεῖρα μίαν προσβολῇ σεμνυνόμενος, ἔφασαν τὸν Ἡρακλέα τρὶς μὲν προσβαλεῖν τῇ πέτρᾳ ταύτῃ, τρὶς δ' ἀποκρουσθῆναι. Strabo. Lib. 15. pag. 688.

(2) Τὴν σκευὴν ᾗ ἔστιν ὁ Ἡρακλέης ἥντινα ἐφόρεε, Μεγασθένης λέγει, ὅτι ὁμοίην τῷ Θηβαίῳ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὃς αὐτοὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπηγέονται. Arrian. Indic. p. 174.

(3) Παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι ᾗ Πὰν μὲ ἀρχαιότατος, καὶ τῶν Ὀκτὼ Πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν εἶναι; Ἡρακλῆς ᾗ, τῶν Δευτέρων, τῶν Δυώδεκα λεγομένων· Διόνυσον ᾗ τῶν Τελείων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν Δυώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 145.

contem-

contemporary, and ſuperiour, to (1) Pan; who is ſaid to have fought under Oſiris. To find out who theſe firſt (2) Eight Gods were, is above my capacity; unleſs I may be permitted to call them the *Pudam*, *Kobaler*, or *Indian Shepheards*, before mentioned; of whom Pan might be one, Silenus another, the Fauns and Satyrs making up the number Eight: for theſe were gods of the fields and woods, and all ſaid to be compa-

(1) Παραλαβεῖν [Oſiridem] δ' ἐπὶ τ στρατείαν τ̀ν τ Πᾶνα, ἀμφιεσθῆναι τὸν τ Αιγυπτίων πρώτον. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 11.

(2) The learned profeſſor Jablonſki endeavoured to gain ſome light in this matter from an inſcription quoted by *Theon*, in his treatiſe *De Muſica*. *Extat eam in rem, locus obſervatione noſtra non indignus apud Theonem de Muſica. Cap.* 49. Εν ᾗ Αιγυπτιακῇ, φησὶν Εὔανδρος, εὑρίσκεσθαι γραφὴν βασιλέως Κρόνου, καὶ βασιλίσσης Ρέας.

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΣΙΡΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΣ
ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΡΑΝΩ ΗΛΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΛΗΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΓΗ ΚΑΙ ΝΥΚΤΙ
ΚΑΙ ΕΜΗΡΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΣΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΡΩΤΙ
ΜΝΗΜΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΒΙΟΥ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΕΩΣ

He is not ſo ſanguine as to pronounce it genuine, or ſo old as it pretends to be, i. e. Of the times of Oſiris, Saturn, and Rhea; but thinks it was formed upon the moſt ancient theology of the Egyptians, becauſe the Eight primary Gods are here mentioned. *Id tamea ex priſca & genuina antiquorum Ægyptiorum Theologia omnino petitum eſt, quod in hac inſcriptione Octo memorentur Primarii Ægyptiorum Dii.* Pantheum Ægypt. Vol. 1. p. 18. It is true that Eight gods are here mentioned, *Spirit*, *Heaven*, *Sun*, *Moon*, *Earth*, *Night*, *Day*, *and Love*, *the father of all things that are*, *or ſhall be.* But then I aſk, Which of theſe is Pan? For Herodotus by Pan, Hercules, Bacchus, ſeems to mean real perſonages, and not theſe ideal Divinities. The learned Abbe Banier, Mythol. Book 2. c. 3. thought he had found them in Diodorus, Ων ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γενέσθαι παρ' τοῖς Αιγυπτίοις, μεθερμηνευομένων δ' αὐτῶν, πάντας μὲν ὁμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὐρανίοις, πάντας δ' ἰδίαν ἐχομένους, προσηγορίας

Ηλιον, Κρόνον, Ρέαν, Δία, Ηραν, Ηφαιστον, Εστίαν, Ερμῆν. Diod. Lib. 1. p. 8.
Solem, *Saturnum*, *Rheam*, *Jovem*, *Junonem*, *Vulcanum*, *Veſtam*, *Mercurium.*

But here the ſame difficulty occurs, as before; Pan being omitted in this liſt.

nions of Bacchus. I am as much at a loſs about the Second order, and believe it was feigned by the prieſts, that they might not ſeem ignorant of any thing. Every one has heard of the Twelve Great Gods of the Greeks, and I ſuppoſe the Egyptians might learn the ſame from Herodotus; but we know that Hercules was not one of that number. And therefore I think theſe Twelve Gods muſt remain as much a myſtery, as the other: and as to thoſe who came from the Twelve, they might be numberleſs, for any thing we know to the contrary.

Hercules probably a Scythian.

It appears clearly to me, that all the exploits of the true Hercules were performed in India: and that the Indians had no other reaſon for making him a native of their country, than that he was worſhiped there; for this was a piece of reſpect commonly paid to all gods and heroes, tho' they came from ever ſo far countries. Arrian, a very judicious hiſtorian, (1) ſays that "Hercules who conquered India, was in his opinion, neither "a Theban, nor Egyptian, nor Tyrian; but ſome great "king, whoſe dominions lay not far from India." And this confirms me in my opinion, that he was neither more, nor leſs, than a Scythian. To paſs over the other northern feats aſcribed to him by the Greeks: as his journey to the Hyperboreans; his releaſing Prometheus on mount Caucaſus; and his wars with the Amazons; the oldeſt fable, I believe, in which he is concerned, is

(1) Ει δὲ τῳ πιστὰ ταῦτα, ἄλλος ἂν ἦτος Ηρακλέης εἴη, οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖος, ἢ ὁ Τύριος ἦτος, ἢ ὁ Αιγύπτιος, ἤ τις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄνω χώρην οὐ πόῤῥω τῆς Ινδῶν γῆς ὠκισμένην μέγας βασιλεύς. Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. p. 172. Ed. Steph.

that

that of the female monſter mentioned by (1) Herodotus; who predicted, that ſhe ſhould have three ſons at a birth by Hercules; the youngeſt of which, called Scythes, gave name to the whole country. Time has not yet worn out all remains of this fable among the eaſtern Scythians; for we find it revived with ſome little variation, in the (2) ſtory of Alancoua; who conceived by an unknown power, and foretold that ſhe ſhould be delivered of three ſons at a birth; one of which proved to be *Buzengir the Juſt*, anceſtor of Gengizchan.

India the primitive ſource of Idolatry.

In the hiſtory of theſe two deities, we diſcover the moſt ancient traces of idolatry, and in a country very remote from Syria or Egypt, commonly reputed the two great nurſeries of it. By idolatry I mean only that ſpecies of it, which conſiſted in paying divine honours to dead perſons. When, or where, this depravation of religion began, is uncertain: but, I think, it could not commence before the floud; for as bad as the world then was, no tokens of it appear in ſcripture. It is commonly thought to have ſucceeded the worſhip of the ſun, moon, ſtars, rivers, mountains, &c. and yet it may be queſtioned whether theſe were not at firſt worſhiped, from being thought the manſions of deceaſed heroes. The diſpute about the antiquity of Hero Worſhip, as far as it can be made out from the Greek hiſtorians, ſeems to lye chiefly between the Aſſyrians and Egyptians; that

(1) Herodotus. Lib. IV. c. 9, 10.

(2) See Hiſt. of Gengizchan. c. 1. Abulghazi's Hiſt. of Turks and Tartars. Par. 2. c. 15.

is, whether Belus, or Oſiris, was the more ancient deity of the two. For tho' Uranus and Saturn, conſidered as men, might live before either of them; yet the right of Belus, or Jupiter, if I may ſo call him, ſeems to be determined by clearer marks of time, than that of Oſiris, or any other. When his divinity was once eſtabliſhed; it was in a manner neceſſary, and certainly not difficult, to bring his deſcent from other gods, and the deſcent of other gods from him. This abſurd impiety overflowed both the eaſtern and weſtern world, many ages before the coming of our Saviour; and in a nation, whoſe records go beyond all others, is certainly not above ſeventeen hundred years ſtanding; I mean, when the worſhip of (1) Fo was brought into China from India. The (2) Indians had always the name of a moſt religious people among the Chineſe; and the ancient Greeks had the ſame opinion of the Egyptians; upon account of their numberleſs deities, and religious rites; which, for want of a competent knowledge of other countries, they concluded were the proper growth of Egypt. But they all ſeem to me to be derived at firſt from another ſource: nor am I unſupported by the ancients in this conjecture. For if we may believe (3) Plutarch, "Phylarchus held that

(1) *Ante invectam cum idolo* FOE *ex India ſuperſtitionem, nullum vanorum deorum ſimulachrum, ſtatuam nullam in Sinis extitiſſe.* Couplet Procem. in Scient. Scinicam. p. 78.

(2) *The Chineſe have no ſciences, and their religion, and moſt of their laws, are derived from the Indians; nay they are of opinion, that the Indians taught them the worſhip of idols, and conſider them as a very religious nation.* Mr. Renaudot's Account of India and China by Two Mohammedan Travellers in the Ninth century. Lond. 1733. p. 36.

(3) Οὐδὲ Φυλάρχου μὴ καταφρονεῖν, χράφοντος ὅτι ϖρῶτος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐξ Ινδῶν ἤγαγε Διόνυσος, ὃν μὲν Ἄπιν ὄνομα, τῷ δ' Ὄσιριν. De Iſide & Oſiride.

"Bacchus

"Bacchus firſt brought into Egypt the gods Apis and "Oſiris from India." Since the diſcoveries of modern travellers, we meet with deſcriptions of the (1) Indian temples; ſome of which are built after the manner of the Egyptian architecture, with galleries, and flat roofs, ſupported by colonnades. And as to the worſhip performed there; I believe there is ſcarce any ſuperſtition of the ancient Egyptians, but what may be matched, and is ſtill kept up in India. Such are the monſtrous images of their deities; the worſhip of the Cow, or Ox; the veneration paid to other brute animals, as dogs, cats, Sphinxes or monkeys, birds, and fiſhes; cuſtoms ſtill prevalent among the idolaters, in ſome, one or other, parts of India. Therefore, with ſubmiſſion to better judgments, I take India to be the primitive ſeat of idolatry; and Bacchus to be the firſt Hero God mentioned in hiſtory.

The primitive ſtate of Nature, and Nations.

As we have ſuppoſed our two heroes to live in times of the moſt obſcure antiquity: it may in ſome meaſure ſerve to illuſtrate their hiſtory, if we take a ſhort ſurvey of the ſtate of nature, and nations, in the primitive ages. Here it will be neceſſary to go back to that ever memorable epoch of the Deluge; a fact, of which all nations preſerved the remembrance. It it not to be expected, that at this diſtance all nations ſhould agree in the time, or particular circumſtances, of it; it is ſufficient, that they retained the ge-

(1) See Mr Thevenot of the Pagods of Elora. Travels. Par. 3. c. 44. Tavernier's Travels. Book 1. c. 18. *Lettres Edifiantes &c.* tranſlated by Mr Lockman. Vol. 1. p. 456, 457.

neral

neral tradition. The Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Phenicians, preſerved it, as we learn from their hiſtorians, Beroſus, Hieronymus, and Mnaſeas, quoted by (1) Joſephus: and the Chineſe, by the accounts of modern (3) travellers, were acquainted with it. The deluges of the Greeks atteſt the ſame; and the tradition ſeems to have come to them from the north: Ogyges was an aboriginal, and Deucalion a Scythian. The Bramines of Perſia and India had it recorded in their (3) books: "That about 21,000 years ago the ſea overwhelmed and "drowned the whole earth, except one great hill, far to "the northward, called Bindd," I will not pretend to reconcile this account to any chronology; but only mention it to ſhew, that in the opinion of thoſe ſages the human ſpecies was preſerved in the north, and from

(1) Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. c. 3.

(2) Vid. Martinii Hiſt. Sinic. Lib. 1. pag. 3, 26.

(3) "I ſhall here give you out of one of their [Bramins] own books, "what they tell us of a great floud that formerly happened. They ſay that "about 21,000 years ago the ſea overwhelmed, and drowned the whole "earth, except one great hill, far to the northward, called Bindd. And "that there fled thither only one woman, and ſeven men; the names of "whom were Dehoolah, Sunnak, Sunnaud, Trilleck, Sannotah, Cuppy-"loſhaw, Suraſchah, and Burroopung: theſe underſtanding out of their "books that ſuch a floud would come, and was then actually coming, "prepared againſt the ſame, and repaired thither; to which place alſo went "two of all ſorts of creatures, Herbs, Trees, Graſſes, and every thing "that had life, to the number of 1,800,000 living ſouls. This floud, ſay "they, laſted 120 years, 5 months and 5 days: after which time all thoſe "creatures, that were thus preſerved, deſcended down again, and re-"pleniſhed the earth: but as for the ſeven men, and one woman, only "one of them came down with her, and lived at the foot of the moun-"tain; the other ſix turned *Fuchees*, or holy men, and ſpent there the re-"mainder of their days." Mr John Marſhall's Letter to Dr Cogan from the Eaſt Indies. Philoſ. Tranſact. for Jan. 1700. N°. 268.

thence

thence the earth was repeopled. Here I beg leave to recall to the readers mind the opinion of (1) Salmaſius, a perſon of as great learning and judgment, as any the laſt age produced. "There is no nation, ſays he, either of "Europe or Aſia, but what came originally from the "north; from hence moſt parts of Europe and Aſia were "planted with inhabitants. That vaſt region of Scythia "ſituated to the north, and extending far to the eaſt and "weſt, brought forth all thoſe people, with their lan-"guages, that overflowed Europe and Aſia. And by "diſcharging it's ſuperfluities towards the ſouth, pro-"duced the different nations of both thoſe countries."

Nations without diſcipline naturally degenerate into barbarity.

Hiſtory, reaſon, and experience, agree, that when families grew too numerous for one country, they muſt remove and ſettle in others; where they lived for ſome time without intermixing with each other, without laws, under no government, but what was lodged in the chiefs of each particular family. The ſwarms then that iſſued from this general hive, being thus left to themſelves, whatever they were at firſt, naturally degenerated into a ſtate of barbarity; and continued ſo for ages; till ſome one perſon of greater ſenſe and ſtrength reduced the ſeparate clans into one community, made laws for the government of the

(1) *Nulla Europæ fere gens, nec Aſiæ, quin a Septentrione promanaverit. Inde propagines profectæ populorum quibus Europæ Aſiæque pleræque partes conſitæ fuerunt. Scythia igitur, quæ ad ſeptentrionem, omnes ferme gentes evomuit cum ſuis linguis, quæ Europam & Aſiam inundarunt. Ut autem vaſtiſſima illa Scytharum regio fuit, & late porrecta ad orientem & occidentem, verſus meridiem eructando varias hinc in Europa, inde in Aſia, produxit gentes.* Salmaſius De Helleniſtica. pag. 366.

whole,

whole, and as it were compelled them to be civilized: and this was the (1) office of the firſt great heroes of antiquity.

Inſtances of their Reformation, in the Chineſe, and Ruſſians.

We may form an idea of this alteration in the face of nature from the different manners of two neighbour nations, the wandering Tartars and the Chineſe. The former obſerve little, or no decency in the common actions of life, in eating or drinking; live by rapine; depend for their ſubſiſtence on their cattle, and the ſpontaneous fruits of the earth: whilſt the Chineſe, as if inſtructed by the gods, cultivate the land, promote every liberal and mechanical art, and live in the utmoſt politeneſs. This bleſſing they have enjoyed for ſome thouſands of years, and their annals eternize the memory of their benefactors; though we dont find that they ever paid divine honours to them, as was done in other countries. And without going ſo far as China; what a change has been wrought in the manners of the Ruſſians, within the memory of perſons now living; by the efforts of one man, and he too a native of the country, but improved by the experience he gained in countries more civilized than his own! From theſe examples we may conclude, that the firſt heroes of antiquity were endued with more than ordinary natural talents, and thoſe too refined by educa-

(1) *Romulus, & Liber pater, & cum Caſtore Pollux,*
Poſt ingentia facta, deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aſpera bella
Componunt, agros aſſignant, oppida condunt.
Horat. Lib. 2. Epiſt. 1. v. 5.

tion;

tion; that they were actuated by a ſpirit and genius ſuperiour to that of the people whom they conquered and civilized; and may be preſumed to come from a country, where arts and ſciences were cultivated.

The beginning, and progreſs of ſcience.

The learned of the laſt and preſent age, deceived by the Greeks themſelves, in tracing ſcience to it's original ſpring, ſeem to me to have taken a way more round about, for want of attention to the ſentiments of Salmaſius; who had pointed out one much nearer. The ſacred hiſtory, which indeed ought to be our guide in doubtful caſes, has prejudiced them in favour of Egypt, and the Holy land, and the countries lying eaſtward from thence; where ſcience certainly flouriſhed in ancient times, and to an eminent degree. But if it was propagated according to the courſe of nature, we muſt turn our thoughts to the north; where the path perhaps is not ſo beaten as the other, and may be overgrown with thorns and bryars, but when cleared, will be found the nearer road to the fountain head. The Scythians for many ages have been reckoned a barbarous people, but it cannot be affirmed that they were ſuch from the beginning. The ſpirit of the northern nations has chiefly exerted itſelf in arms; but even here a ſtrength of genius was required to conduct them. The (1) Scythians in ancient times thrice gained the empire of Aſia: their defeats of Cyrus and Darius are laſting tokens of their military ſkill: our weſtern world has ſufficiently

(1) *Imperium Aſiæ ter quæſivere Scythæ, ipſi perpetuo ab alieno imperio aut intacti, aut invicti manſere.* Juſtin. Hiſt. Lib. 2.

felt the force of it under Woden, Attila, Theodoric, Genſeric, and others; whoſe ſucceſſes cannot be aſcribed to undiſciplined numbers, and brutal courage only. To ſay that they fell upon effeminate, luxurious, and enervated people, is a plauſible way of accounting for their conqueſts; but this reaſon will not hold good in the caſe of Gengizchan and Tamerlane in the eaſt; for they deſtroyed mighty empires founded on arms and military diſcipline; and overpowered as able generals, as perhaps any age ever produced. Their ſcience in war is therefore indiſputable; nor do I think that in ancient times they were deficient in the arts of peace.

Religion the chief mark of a civilized people.

The firſt inhabitants of Greece are ſaid to be barbarians, that is, as I take it, colonies from the Scythian hive: theſe lived the lives of the wandering Tartars, till they came under the dominion of the gods. The gods by all accounts firſt (1) reformed them from a ſavage life; taught them to till the land, and to build cities; then juſtice is ſaid to have flouriſhed, laws were ordained, property ſecured, and violence puniſhed. The Pelaſgians, who ſeem to be only later colonies of Scythians, either came with the gods, or ſoon after them, and overran the whole country of Greece; and this was another means of civilizing them. Then they received their religion, or Hero worſhip: for the firſt known gods, and oracles, of Greece, were the gods and oracles

(1) *Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo,*
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis,
Is genus indocile, ac diſperſum montibus altis
Compoſuit, legeſque dedit. Georgic. 1. v. 125.

of

of the Pelaſgians. Religion is the principal mark of a civilized people; and therefore the Greeks could not be ſaid to be thoroughly reclaimed from barbarity, till they received the Cabiric myſteries, or worſhip of the Twelve Great Gods.

The next Learning, and Philoſophy.

Another mark of a civilized people is learning and philoſophy; this I think can be traced no higher in profane hiſtory, than the time of Zoroaſtres, who was contemporary with Ninus founder of the Aſſyrian empire. What remains of the hiſtory of Zoroaſtres, ſhews that he was an adept in ſcience. He is ſaid to be the firſt, (2) "Who found out magic arts, ſtudied the origin of "the world, and obſerved the motions of the ſtars." Whether he is to be called Zoroaſtres according to Trogus, or Oxyartes according to Diodorus, and Cteſias, is not material; he is certainly the ſame perſon, who was conquered and ſlain by Ninus; if ever there was ſuch a (1) king as Ninus. Perſons too much bigoted to an hypotheſis of their own, may diſpute the truth of this part of hiſtory, but I can ſee no reaſon to queſtion it. Becauſe it does not run back to an unreaſonable length of time; and has this advantage over other hiſtories of ſo great antiquity, that here we are not concerned with the heathen mythology; have nothing to do with the gods of Greece or Egypt; but only with a king of Bactria, con-

(1) *Poſtremum illi* [Nino] *bellum cum Zoroaſtre Bactrianorum rege fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas inveniſſe, & mundi principia, ſyderumque motus diligentiſſime ſpectaſſe. Hoc occiſo, deceſſit & ipſe.* Juſtin. Hiſt. Lib. 1.

(2) Sir Iſaac Newton ſeems to doubt of the very being of Ninus. See His Chronology.

quered by a king of Aſſyria. The time of Zoroaſtres may be computed by the fall of the Aſſyrian empire under Sardanapalus, which is ſaid to have laſted 1300 years, and ended about 700, or according to ſome 800, years before Chriſt: and this I think is as high as the records of Egypt can reach.

Cabiric rites in Aſia.

Of all the countries of Europe the iſland Samothrace bears the earlieſt tokens of the Pelaſgians, by being the ſeat of the Cabiric worſhip; and yet the rites ſeem to have been eſtabliſhed before in Aſia. Not far from Calchedon was a fortified place, or caſtle, from time immemorial called *Ιερὸν*, or *the Temple*, which in proceſs of time became the temple of (1) *Jupiter Urius*, propitious to navigators: but ſeems originally to have been dedicated to the ſervice of the Twelve Gods. This temple, ſome affirmed, was built by Jaſon at the time of the Argonautic expedition, but (2) Polybius only ſays, "That "upon his return from Colchis, he there firſt ſacrificed "to the Twelve Gods:" which intimates that the temple was at leaſt more ancient than that expedition. In Pontus was the (3) caſtle and town of Cabira, the imperial ſeat of Mithridates, afterwards improved and adorned by Pompey; this ſeems to have been a place dedicated to

(1) Vid. Edm. Chiſhull Antiq. Aſiatic. Lond. 1728. p. 59, & Addenda.

(2) Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Πόντου τὸ καλούμενον Ιερόν· ἐφ' οὗ τόπου φασὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Κόλχων ἀνακομιδὴν, Ιάσονα θυσαι πρῶτον τοῖς Δώδεκα Θεοῖς. Polyb. Hiſt. Lib. 4. p. 307. Ed. Caſaub.

(3) Πρὸς αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ παρωρείᾳ τοῦ Παρυάδρου Καβείρα ἵδρυται σταδίοις ἕκατον καὶ πεντήκοντα που, νοτιωτέρα αὐτῆς οὖσιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Καβείροις τὰ βασίλεια Μιθριδάτου κατεσκεύασο. — Τὰ δὲ Κάβειρα Πομπηΐου σκευάσαντος εἰς πόλιν, καὶ καλέσαντος Διόπολιν, ἐκείνην προσκατεσκεύασε, καὶ Σεβαστὴν μετωνόμασε, βασιλείῳ τε τῇ πόλει χρῆται. Strabo. Lib. 12. p. 556, 557. Vid. etiam Plutarch. in Lucullo.

the

the Cabiri, in the ſame manner as the other. Amongſt the opinions, mentioned by Strabo, concerning the Corybantes, or armed prieſts of the Cabiric myſteries; "(1) Some ſaid, they were a body of men appointed by "the Titans to attend upon Rhea." This notion was plainly borrowed from the fable of their nurſing Jupiter in Crete: but what follows ſeems to have more probability in it, "That ſome ſaid they came from Bactriana, others "from Colchis:" and both opinions might be true, if this was the road by which they came into Thrace. Herodotus has preſerved, what I eſteem a curioſity, viz. a Rent Roll of the tributes annually paid to Darius Hyſtaſpis from the ſeveral nations of his empire: amongſt others we find the (2) *Orthocorybantians:* who by their neighbours mentioned in the ſame lot of aſſeſſment, ſeem to belong either to Media, or Bactriana; or perhaps were ſituated between both.

Bactria the ancient ſeat of Arts and Sciences.

If then I might be permitted to chooſe a country for the ſeat of arts in the moſt primitive times after the floud, it ſhould be Bactria; which is properly a part of ſouthern Scythia: becauſe I think no country can produce more certain evidence of it's ancient politeneſs. From hence, as it ſeems to me, ſcience was pro-

(1) Οἱ δ' ὑπὸ Τιτάνων Ῥέᾳ δεδῶσαι προσπόλους τοὺς Κορύβαντας ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἀφιγμένους· οἱ δ' ἐκ Κόλχων φασιν. Strabo. Lib. 10. p. 472.

(2) Ἀπὸ δὴ Ἑκαταίνων, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς, καὶ Παρυκανίων, καὶ ΟΡΘΟΚΟΡΥΒΑΝΤΙΩΝ, Πεντήκοντα καὶ Τετρακόσια τάλαντα· Νόμος Δέκατος ἔτος. Herodot. Lib. 3. c. 94. The *Parycani* here mentioned, ſeem to be the ſame with the *Pariani* of Pomponius Mela. *Interiora terrarum multæ variæque gentes habitant Gandari*, Pariani, *& Bactri, Sugdiani, Harmatotrophi, Comaræ, Cemani, Aparni, Dahæ, ſuper Scythas, Scytharumque deſerta.* Pomp. Mela. Lib. 1. c. 2.

pagated

pagated to Perſia, Aſſyria, India, and even to China itſelf. (1) Strabo ſays, that "Bactria adjoining to Aria, "abounded in every thing, but oyl." The natural fruitfulneſs of the ſoil therefore invited mankind to ſettle in it; till it was overcharged with inhabitants. The populouſneſs of this country, one argument of it's politeneſs, may be judged, from what is reported of it near two thouſand years ago: that it had then (2) a thouſand cities under the juriſdiction of the Greeks, after they had deſtroyed the Perſian empire. Bactria I take to be what is now called Bucharia, the greater and leſs, ſtretching almoſt from the Caſpian ſea eaſtward, to the confines of China, (3) "Bokharia, Bukharia, Bogaria, Bokaria, or "Boharia, as it may be variouſly written, is the name "given at preſent to the country, or tract of land, be-"tween Karaſm, and the great ſandy deſart bordering "on China. It ſignifies the country of the *Bukhars*, "which (4) Abulghazi Khan informs us is a Mongol "word, implying a *Learned Man:* Becauſe, adds he, all "thoſe who have a mind to be inſtructed in the lan-"guages and ſciences, go into Bukharia. Hence it ap-"pears, that this name has been impoſed by the Mon-

(1) Πάμφορον δὲ εἶναι καὶ Βακτριανὴν, πλὴν ἐλαίου, πλησίον τῇ Ἀρίᾳ παρακειμένην. Strabo. Lib. 2. p. 73.

(2) *Quanquam plus gloriæ ſit, inter Aſſyria & Medica, Perſicaque memorata olim regna, & opulentiſſimum illud Mille Urbium Bactrianum imperium emergere potuiſſe.* Juſtin. Hiſt. Lib. 41. *Eodem tempore etiam Theodotus, Mille Urbium Bactrianorum præfectus, defecit; regemque ſe appellari juſſit.* Id. Ibid. Eucratides one of the ſucceſſors of Theodotus had likewiſe a thouſand cities under his juriſdiction. Ευκρατίδαν γοῦν πόλεις χιλίας ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν. Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 686.

(3) See Aſtley's Collection of Voyages. Vol. 4. p. 514.

(4) Hiſtory of the Turks and Tartars. Lond. pag. 108.

"gols,

"gols, who conquered this country in the time of Jen-
"ghis Khan. The ſame author mentions the Bukhars
"elſewhere, but in thoſe places the term ſeems to be re-
"ſtrained to the inhabitants of the city of Bokhara." I readily agree with this learned writer, and his author Abulghazi, that the word (1) *Bukhar*, is the northern name for a *Learned Man*; but cannot allow the inference he draws, if I underſtand him right, viz. That the name Bucharia was impoſed by the Mongols, at or after the time of Jenghis Khan; for the contrary appears clear to me; ſince a man muſt firſt go into Bucharia before he could be called a Bukhar. Bucharia is therefore not the new, but old name of the country, and if I am not deceived, means no more than Bactria: and that as mount *Caf* was the Cafcaſus, or Cavcaſus, of the ancients; their Maracanda is now *Samarcand*; Sogdiana *Al Sogd*; Choraſmia *Karaſm*, or *Chariſme*; ſo *Bocharia* is only the later name for Bactria, or Boctria; and the city of *Bochara* ſeems to be the ancient Bactra, the capital of the country. The ſchools of Bochara and Samarcand ſtill keep up the ancient character of learning; and the ſoil of Great Bucharia ſtill anſwers to the ancient fruitfulneſs of Bactria. "It muſt be confeſſed, [ſays an (2) author

(1) What the Mongols called *Boghar*, or *Bukhar*, a Saxon would write Boȝ þeþ, or Boc þeþ, i. e. *Vir Librorum*, *a Man of Books*, or *Learning*. *Bog* is the old northern word for a *Book*, meaning the Wood of the *Beech tree*, in Saxon Boc ꝥreop, or *Book tree*, on which their characters were anciently engraved. Of the ſame import are the Greek Βίβλος, and the Latin *Liber*, both ſignifying the materials on which writing was performed.

(2) The French Editors [Bentink] Notes on Abulghazi Khan's Hiſtory of the Turks and Tartars. pag. 455.

"who

"who ſeems to be well informed about it] nature has "denied nothing to this fine country to make living in "it agreeable. The mountains abound with the richeſt "mines; the valleys are of an aſtoniſhing fertility in all "ſorts of fruits and pulſe; the fields are covered with "graſs the height of a man; the rivers ſwarm with ex- "cellent fiſh; and wood which is ſo ſcarce all over the "reſt of Grand Tatary, is found here in great plenty in "ſeveral parts: in ſhort it is the beſt cultivated and in- "habited of all the Grand Tatary." Theſe deſireable regions, ſo adapted to the conveniences of life, and not improbably the ſeats of our firſt anceſtors after the floud; by a ſad fatality lay obſcured during the revolutions of thoſe kingdoms and empires, that make the ſubject of Greek and Roman hiſtory; and were ſcarce known to the Europeans, till the Arabians carried their conqueſts into Tartary. The ancient accounts of the inhabitants, and their country, are loſt in the ſhipwreck of time; and nothing remains of them at preſent, but a few ill contrived fables, affording neither pleaſure nor profit to the reader. Were we only born for ourſelves, as too many are apt to think, we need not be affected with the viciſſitude of things, nor trouble ourſelves with uneaſy reflexions about them: but thoſe who have at heart the advancement of knowledge, and the improvement of poſterity, cannot but regret with me the loſs of ſo conſiderable, and intereſting, a period in the hiſtory of the world. But thus providence has ordained, and we muſt acquieſce.

I have

The Sum of what has been ſaid.

I have gone through, at leaſt in part, what I at firſt propoſed; which was to reſcue fabulous hiſtory out of the hands of the poets, by reducing it to a ſort of ſyſtem with the help of chronology. As my intention cannot be bad, whatever the execution may be; I hope it will meet with that indulgence, which ought to be given to a firſt attempt of this kind. I have not courted the reader's favour, or approbation; becauſe I think it unneceſſary, where an authour has truth on his ſide; and where he has not, it is only beſpeaking the reader's ſanction to an errour. I have offered no violence to the chronology of profane hiſtory, nor to the more authentic teſtimony of the ſacred records. I have had regard to the grand æra of the deluge; and to the diſperſion, and propagation, of mankind. I have, it is true, taken the liberty of diſſenting from other authors, both ancient and modern; but I hope with that decency, and reſpect, that is due to their ſeveral characters. If I have brought the firſt colonies of people from the northern parts of the world, I am not ſingular in my opinion; tho' the ſtream of writers may poſſibly be againſt me, and the matter itſelf cannot be cleared up from the ſacred hiſtory; which all along points to the line of Sem, the poſterity of Abraham, and the promiſed land. This has manifeſtly given thoſe authors a byaſs to Chaldæa, Syria, Arabia, Judæa, and Egypt; which are neceſſarily mentioned oftner, and more particularly, than Scythia and the north eaſtern countries; tho' theſe certainly had inhabitants, as well as the others, but not ſo diſtinctly enumerated by Moſes.

The Concluſion

Ancient learning, I am but too ſenſible, is not ſuited to the general humour of the age, but only to a few particular perſons; and yet no ſooner does a work of this nature make it's appearance, than every reader claims his right of ſitting in judgment upon it. And for one who reads for the ſake of amuſement, or inſtruction, there are ten who read with no other view, than to find faults in it: tho' perhaps ſcarce one in ten is capable of entering into the merits of the argument. All ſuch have my free conſent, to find what faults they can in the preſent treatiſe; only craving ſo much juſtice at their hands, as to believe, that, to the beſt of my abilities, I have uſed my utmoſt endeavour to find out the truth.

F. W. R. L.

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